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# CORRESPONDENCE

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE;

BETWEEN THE YEAR 1744,

AND THE PERIOD OF HIS DECEASE, IN 1797.

---

EDITED BY

CHARLES WILLIAM, EARL FITZWILLIAM,

AND LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

SIR RICHARD BOURKE, K.C.B.

---

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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LONDON:

FRANCIS & JOHN RIVINGTON,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD, & WATERLOO PLACE.

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1844.



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LONDON :  
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,  
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

## PREFACE.

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ALTHOUGH more than forty years have elapsed since the death of Mr. Burke, the examination of the papers he left after him has been but lately brought to a close. This delay has arisen not so much from the quantity of materials found after his decease (though these were not inconsiderable), as from the particular circumstances of the persons to whom the papers were given in charge. Upon the death of Mr. Burke in 1797, Dr. French Laurence, an eminent civilian, and member of the House of Commons, and Dr. Walker King, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, were entrusted with the care of all the papers of their deceased friend. The professional and parliamentary avocations of the former of these gentlemen, left him but little

time to examine with attention the blotted and confused manuscripts which came under his review. Something, however, in the way of arrangement appears to have been attempted by him shortly after Mr. Burke's death; and, conjointly with Dr. King, he carried through the press the first eight volumes of the octavo edition of Burke's works. Dr. Laurence had, at one time, indeed, entertained the hope of being able to give to the world a life of his friend, which, coming from his pen, and with his knowledge of the subject, would have been invaluable. But it was the will of Providence, that the useful and honourable career of this distinguished man should be short; and he died early in the year 1809, having done little or nothing in furtherance of his design. The whole charge of the papers, both formally and effectively, remained from that period until 1812 with Dr. Walker King, who in December, 1808, had been raised to the see of Rochester. In the spring of 1812, the widow of Edmund Burke died at Beconsfield, and, by her last will, gave to Earl Fitzwilliam, the Bishop of Rochester, and the



Right Hon. William Elliot, the entire direction of the printing and publishing such parts of the works of her late husband, as were not published before her decease; bequeathing to them all the printed and manuscript papers for this purpose. The execution of this trust devolved almost exclusively upon the Bishop of Rochester, whose professional duties, together with impediments occasioned by an indifferent state of health and very imperfect eyesight, (which, long before his death, terminated in total blindness,) retarded considerably the revision and preparation of the manuscripts in his possession. In his letter to the late Mr. Elliot, prefixed to the ninth volume of the octavo edition of the works, his lordship has given some account of the interruptions and difficulties he experienced. The love and veneration he bore to the memory of Burke, and an anxious desire to leave nothing undone that could possibly add, in however small a degree, to the established reputation of that illustrious man, induced him to struggle with his infirmities (frequently to their augmentation), and to apply himself to the task in

which his heart was so deeply interested. In the autumn of 1812, his lordship brought out the ninth and tenth volumes of the octavo edition of the works, and subsequently six volumes more.

In the advertisement to the seventh volume, and in the introductory letter to the ninth, the bishop announced his intention of giving, in the concluding volumes of the works, a narrative of Mr. Burke's life, and parts of his familiar correspondence. This design, his lordship did not live to execute; nor did he leave, from his own pen, any materials towards it, beyond a few rough lines appearing to be the commencement of a narrative. He died in 1828, a few months after the publication of the fifteenth and sixteenth volumes of the works. By his lordship's death, the public were deprived of all hope of seeing an authorized life of Burke. The bishop was the last of the associates of that great man, who, from early, close, and continued habits of intimacy with all the members of the Burke family, and the stores of an accurate memory, could have ventured to

supply the deficiencies of documentary remains, and have given to the world a true and faithful picture of the private life of his venerated friend.

Upon the death of the Bishop of Rochester (Mr. William Elliot having died previously in 1818), the papers came into the possession of the late Earl Fitzwilliam, and subsequently of the present Earl, by whom, with the aid of Sir Richard Bourke, these volumes of correspondence are now brought out according to the wishes implied in Mrs. Burke's will<sup>1</sup>. Of the letters written by Burke, and now published, the most part were obtained many years ago, through the kindness of the persons to whom they were addressed, or of their representatives, in compliance with the applications of Dr. Laurence

<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Bourke is distantly related to the family of Edmund Burke, and having been at school and college in England during the last eight years of the latter's life, passed his vacations and what spare time he could command, in his kinsman's house. He has thus been enabled from his own observation, and the traditions of Beconsfield, to supply such portion of Burke's personal history as is to be found in the notes to these letters.



and the Bishop of Rochester. They were sent mostly in original, but a few in copy. Of the last, the greater part has been compared with the originals. A few additional letters in original have been obtained at a later period, and a very small number are printed from corrected drafts found amongst Mr. Burke's papers. Several letters, both to, and from Mr. Burke, have, at various times since his death, and in various publications, been given by others to the world, without the authority of his executors or trustees. The rule adopted in the present publication has been, not to re-print any such letters, except in cases where their re-publication was essential to the illustration of his life or character at the period to which they belong. To the letters are added a few short pieces, which, though incomplete, are of some interest. Some papers written by his son Richard Burke, are also given in this collection.

No detailed account of Burke's life is now attempted ; but explanatory notes are given, furnishing such information of the family connexions and

personal history of Burke, as may serve to give to the publication of the letters, which are arranged in the order of their dates, something of the advantages of a continued narrative. Other notes are added, to remind the reader of names and events referred to in the letters, some of which have long ceased to occupy public attention, whilst others are to be found, as materials of history, in the periodical publications of their time. To a large portion of the persons who are likely to read these letters, many of the notes may be unnecessary; but there are others, who, by their perusal, may be saved the trouble of a search, not always readily made, and never without a disagreeable interruption. The notes have been confined strictly to the objects herein described.





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## ERRATA.

- Vol. I., page 116, line 20, *for map, read mass.*  
 — 118, — 6, *dele the stop after "possessed boy."*  
 — 118, — 9, *for a read the.*  
 — 120, — 13, *for magics read magilphs.*  
 — 122, — 19, *for where read when.*  
 — 136, note 8, *for father read grandfather.*  
 — 210, — 7, line 16, *for held read led.*  
 — 216, line 23, *for I read it.*  
 — 226, — 11, *for thoughts read "Thoughts," meaning the "Thoughts on the Present Discontents," published by Mr. Burke.*  
 — 252, note 3, *for Buckingham read Rockingham.*  
 — 494, — 5, line 2, *for senior read junior.*
- Vol. II., page 197, line 11, *insert to before it.*  
 — 329, note 7. This is a note of Mr. Burke's in the original MS., and not *Editorial* as printed.  
 — 394, line 9, *for Mr. read Sir, before A. I. Elton.*
- Vol. III., page 59, erroneously printed 57.  
 — 155, *insert date, 28th Oct. 1790.*  
 — 432, *insert date, March 1792.*
- Vol. IV., page 269, note 5, *for 19th read 29th.*  
 — 272, line 22, *insert most after and.*





## CORRESPONDENCE,

&c.

---

MR. EDMUND BURKE<sup>1</sup> TO RICHARD SHACKLETON<sup>2</sup>.

Dublin, January 9, 1744.

DEAR DICK,

You find me as good as my promise in sending some more of my rhymes to trouble you; and what I said to you in a former favour, that I am like the rest of my brother pettifoggers, you find now to be true. What I send you here is a day of my life, after the manner I usually spend it. I have put it in verse for two reasons; the chief and principal of which is to engage you to answer

<sup>1</sup> In pursuance of the arrangement announced in the preface to these volumes of correspondence, it will be convenient to give, in this place, some account of Edmund Burke's parentage, and of his near relations, whose names will frequently be found in the letters which follow. The branch of the ancient Norman family, from which Mr. Burke descended, has been long settled in the south of Ireland. His father, Richard

it in like manner ; and the other is, that the subject being in itself dry and barren, and, of course,

Burke, possessed, at the beginning of the last century, a small patrimonial estate near Castletown Roche, in the county of Cork. This gentleman was brought up an attorney, and practised with success in Dublin for many years. He married, in or about 1725, Miss Mary Nagle, whose family had considerable property in the same part of the county of Cork. By her he had three sons who reached man's estate—Garret, Edmund, and Richard ; and one daughter. Garret, the eldest of the three sons, was of his father's profession, and died in 1765, unmarried, not long after his father.

Edmund, the philosopher and statesman, who was born in Dublin, it is believed on the 1st January, old style, (which corresponds with the 12th January, 1728, of the present style,) stood next in succession to Garret, and inherited, together with some personal property, the paternal estate, then worth about £300 a year. He married, in 1757, Miss Jane Mary Nugent, daughter of Dr. Christopher Nugent, an eminent physician residing at Bath. By her he had two sons, both of whom he survived ; Richard, the eldest of the two, having died unmarried in 1794, and Christopher, the youngest, in infancy. Edmund Burke died on the 8th of July, 1797, and was buried in Beaconsfield church. On a tablet placed on the wall, he is stated to have been aged 68 when he died ; but there is reason to believe he was older, and such was the impression of his family not long after his death. The registry of his admission to the College of Dublin, dated the 14th of April, 1743, states him to have been then in his sixteenth year, which would place his birth as stated in this note, in 1728. No more authentic evidence of his age, than the College-register affords, has been discovered. The registry of his baptism has been sought for without effect. The month in which he was born,

no pleasant reading, I have laid out what ornaments I could spare on it, in the small time I

and the day of it, (making allowance for the change of style,) are fixed by himself, in a letter to Lord Rockingham, dated January 12, 1775, and given in this collection.

Richard Burke, the youngest of the three brothers here mentioned, died unmarried in 1794. Their sister, Juliana, was married in 1766 to William French, Esq., of Loughrea, in the county of Galway. To him she bore one child, Mary, married in 1792 to Lieut.-Col. Thomas Haviland, only son of General William Haviland, Colonel of the 45th regiment of foot. From this marriage has descended Thomas Haviland Burke, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, now the lineal representative of the family, whose name he has assumed.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Shackleton, to whom this and many letters in this collection are addressed, was the son of Abraham Shackleton, one of the Society of Friends, who established a classical school at Ballitore, in the county of Kildare, about the year 1726. At this school Edmund Burke, and his two brothers, Garret and Richard, were placed in 1741. Edmund, who left it for the College of Dublin in 1743, began, at that time, a correspondence with Richard Shackleton, his schoolfellow, which continued almost without interruption till the death of the latter, in 1792. The letters of Burke to Shackleton which are here given, written from Dublin between 1744 and 1747, form but a small part of his juvenile correspondence with his school friend. They are inserted as specimens of Burke's early style; and more especially, as indicating, in his tender years, the piety and virtue which adorned his whole life. They exhibit, occasionally, an early inclination to versifying, which his mature judgment led him to abandon. Some other specimens of his poetical attempts have been published by Prior, in the first volume of his life of Burke.

have to do any thing for your amusement. Thus far by way of proem or preface; proceed we now to the matter in hand—and to begin:

Soon as Aurora from the blushing skies  
Bids the great ruler of the day to rise,  
No longer balmy sleep my limbs detains;  
I hate its bondage and detest its chains.  
Fly! Morpheus, fly! and leave the foul embrace;  
Let nobler thoughts supply thy loathsome place;  
Let every dream—each fancied joy—give way  
To the more solid comforts of the day.  
See, through the lucid substance of yon glass,  
Sol's radiant beams enlighten as they pass;  
Dispel each gloomy thought, each care control,  
And calm the rising tumults of the soul.  
See, how its rays do every thought refine,  
And fire the soul to raptures half divine.  
Led and inspired by such a guide, I stray  
Through fragrant gardens and the pride of May.  
Sweet month! but oh! what daring muse can give  
Words worthy thee, and words so like to live!  
While each harmonious warbler of the sky  
Sends up its grateful notes to thank the high,  
The mighty Ruler of the world below,—  
Parent of all, from whom our blessings flow.

Teach me, O lark! with thee to greatly rise,  
T' exalt my soul and lift it to the skies;  
To make each worldly joy as mean appear,  
Unworthy care, when heavenly joys are near.

But oh! my friend, the muse has swelled her song,  
From business has detained you quite too long.  
Avails my morn's description aught to you,  
Who morn and even in perfection view?



And now the sun, with a more piercing ray,  
Advises me I must no longer stay.  
All dull, with mournful heavy steps I go ;  
The unwilling town receives me entering slow.  
Returning home, I nature's wants appease ;  
Then, to the college fate your friend conveys.  
But here the muse nor can, nor will, declare,  
What is my work, and what my studies there—  
( 'Tis not her theme :—she still delights to sing  
The gently rising mount and bubbling spring<sup>3</sup>—)  
But oft amid the shady parks I rove,  
Plunged in the deep recesses of the grove.  
While, oh ! embroiled beneath the trees I lie,  
Fann'd by the gales you voluntary fly,  
Oh ! would some kinder genius me convey  
To those fair banks where Griecce's<sup>4</sup> waters stray,  
Where the tall firs o'ershade his crystal floods,  
Or hide me in the thickest gloom of woods ;  
To bear me hence, far from the city's noise,  
And give me all I ask, the country's joys.  
Now Sol's bright beams, grown fainter as he goes,  
Invite the whole creation to repose ;  
Each bird gives o'er its note, the thrush alone  
Fills the cool grove when all the rest are gone.  
Harmonious bird ! daring till night to stay,  
And glean the last remainder of the day.  
The slowly moving hours bring on at last  
The pleasing time, (how tedious was the past !)  
Which shews me Herbert ;—he, since thou art gone,  
My sole companion, 'midst the throngs of town.

---

<sup>3</sup> Helicon and Parnassus.

<sup>4</sup> A river that runs near Ballitore.

By the foul river's side we take our way,  
 Where Liffey rolls her dead dogs to the sea ;  
 Arrived, at length, at our appointed stand,  
 By waves enclosed, the margin of the land,  
 Where once the sea with a triumphing roar,  
 Roll'd his huge billows to a distant shore.  
 There swam the dolphins, hid in waves unseen,  
 Where frisking lambs now crop the verdant green.  
 Secured by mounds of everlasting stone,  
 It stands for ever safe, unoverthrown.

\* \* \* \* \*

Neptune, indignant thus to be confined,  
 Swells in the waves and bellows in the wind ;  
 Raising in heaps his ponderous wat'ry store,  
 Hangs like a mountain o'er the trembling shore.  
 Now ! now he bursts, and with a hideous sound,  
 That shakes the strong foundation of the ground ;  
 Dreadful, with complicated terrors falls,  
 Discharging vengeance on the hated walls <sup>5</sup>.  
 The walls, secured by well compacted stone,  
 Repel the monarch with a hollow groan.  
 'Tis here we sit, while in joint prospect rise,  
 The ocean, ships, and city, to our eyes.  
 Enchanting sight ! when beauteous Sol half way  
 Merges his radiant body in the sea ;  
 And just withdrawing from our mortal sight,  
 Lengthens the quivering shadow of his light.  
 But now inspired—by what exalted muse,—  
 What lofty song, what numbers shall I choose ?

---

<sup>5</sup> Two lines, nearly obliterated in the original, are here omitted.

<sup>6</sup> The north wall.

Or how adapt my verses to the theme,  
 Great as the subject, equal and the same?  
 Or how describe the horrors of the deep,  
 Lulled into peace, and loftiest waves asleep?  
 Not e'en a breath moves o'er the boundless flood,  
 So calm, so peaceful, and so still it stood!  
 The sun withdrawn, and the clear night o'erspread  
 In all its starry glories 'bove our head;—  
 While moon, pale empress, shines with borrowed light,  
 Fills the alternate throne and rules the night;  
 And other worlds, descrying earth afar,  
 Cry, "See, how little looks yon twinkling star!"  
 It is not mine the glorious view to sing,  
 These mighty wonders of the Almighty King;  
 But let my soul, in still amazement lost,  
 From thought to thought, and maze to maze, be tost.  
 The advent'rous task a muse like yours requires,  
 That warms your pen, and fills your breast with fires.  
 Thus far the muse has, in a feeble lay,  
 Show'd how I spend the various hours of day:  
 The story placed in order by the sun,  
 Shows where my labours ended,—where begun.

E. B.<sup>7</sup>


---

 MR. EDMUND BURKE, TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

Arran Quay, November 1, 1744.

MY dear Zelim's kind epistle had not been so  
 long unanswered by his Mirza, but for the hurry  
 of business which has constantly attended me

<sup>7</sup> There is a prose termination to this letter, but some of it  
 is obliterated; and, being unimportant, the whole is omitted.

since I received it, so that the post slipped over unknown to me. But we don't stand on forms and ceremonies, like other correspondents. We know that it is not forgetfulness nor neglect of one another that can make a gap in our intercourse. The joy of receiving a letter wipes away the impatience of waiting for it. It is so with me, and I dare say with you too. I am in a rhyming humour; and I believe I can express my sentiments to you better in verse than prose, on that head; and so take the best I can make in the time.

As when some cloud in the ethereal way  
Darkens the sun, and robs us of the day;  
Its hated shadow grief projects around,  
And spreads a gloomy horror on the ground;  
With universal cry all nature mourns,  
No joys can taste until her light returns.  
But when to humble prayers indulgent heaven  
A blast to clear the troubled skies has given;  
Each bar removed, with a redoubled blaze  
The golden sun pours forth his glorious rays;  
With dazzling beams the wide horizon shines,  
Brighter than India covers in her mines;  
Mankind confesses joy with new delight,  
Drown'd in the glorious ocean of the light.  
So souls made one by friendship's sacred band,  
Possession must by absence understand:  
The joys are doubled which we miss awhile;  
Lost treasures found with greater lustre smile.

I must, my dear Zelim, beg pardon for having taken up so much of your time with trifles, and



promise that in the rest of my letter I shall treat of something of more importance ; and first to answer yours. I am of your opinion, that those poor souls who never had the happiness of hearing that saving name, shall in no wise be damned. But, as you know, my dear Zelim, there are several degrees of felicity—a lower one, which the mercy of God will suffer them to enjoy ; but not any thing to be compared to that of those who have lived and died in Christ. This is sincerely my belief of those ; but I assure you that I don't think near so favourably of those sectaries you mentioned ; many of them breaking, as they themselves confess, for matters of indifference, and no way concerned in the only affair that is necessary, viz. our salvation ; and what a great crime schism is, you can't be ignorant. This, and the reasons in my last, and if you consider what will occur to yourself, together with several texts, will bring you to my way of thinking in that point. Let us endeavour to live according to the rules of the Gospel, and He that prescribed them, I hope, will consider our endeavours to please Him, and assist us in our designs. This, my friend, is your advice, and how hard is it for me to follow it ! I am in the enemy's country—the townsman is beset on every side. It is here difficult to sit down to think seriously. Oh ! how happy are you who live in the country ! I assure you, my

friend, that without the superior grace of God, I will<sup>a</sup> find it very difficult to be commonly virtuous. I don't like that part of your letter wherein you say, "you had the testimony of well-doing in your breast." Whenever such notions rise again, endeavour to suppress them. It is one of the subtlest stratagems the enemy of mankind uses to delude us, that, by lulling us into a false peace, his conquest may be the easier. We should always be in no other than the state of a penitent, because the most righteous of us is no better than a sinner. Pray read the parable of the pharisee and the publican who prayed in the temple. You see that I tell you what I think amiss in yours—why don't you use the same freedom with mine? Do, I beg you, because we shall be both of us improved by it. I have a great deal to say; but as this is a holiday, and I am going to the college, to evening prayers, I must write no more, but defer it till another time. I was going to say something of natural philosophy, something of which I now read; and as you have lately been studying astronomy, I beg of you to communicate to me some of your observations, by which we may mutually improve.

E. BURKE.

<sup>a</sup> This, and other Irish provincialisms, are to be found in some of Burke's early letters. They are given as they are found, without correction or further comment.

MR. EDMUND BURKE, TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

Dublin, January 25, 1745.

I RECEIVED your favour, the product of ill-humour; yet will I endeavour to answer it the best I can, though every thing around conspires to excite in me a contrary disposition: the melancholy gloom of the day, the whistling winds, and the hoarse rumbling of the swollen Liffey, with the flood which, even where I write, lays close siege to our whole street, not permitting any to go in or out to supply us with the necessaries of life; yet the joy of conversing with my friend can dispel the cloudiness of the day, lull the winds, and stop the rapid passage of the flood. How happy was the time when we could mutually interchange our thoughts, and pour the friendly sentiments of our hearts, without obstruction, from our lips, unindebted to the pen, and unimpeded by the post!

No one, perhaps, has seen such a flood here as we have now. The quay wall, which before our door is I believe about <sup>9</sup> feet high, is scarce discernible, seeming only as a mark <sup>1</sup> to show us

<sup>9</sup> The number is torn out by the seal.

<sup>1</sup> The words "a mark," in this sentence, are an insertion; the paper having been torn here also by the seal.

where the bank once bounded the Liffey. Our cellars are drowned, not as before, for that was but a trifle to this ; for now the water comes up to the first floor of the house, threatening us every minute with rising a great deal higher, the consequence of which would infallibly be the fall of the house ; and, to add to our misfortune, the inhabitants of the other quay, secured by their situation, deride the poor prisoners ; while, from our doors and windows, we watch the rise and fall of the waters as carefully as the Egyptians do the Nile, but for different reasons. It gives me pleasure to see nature in those great, though terrible scenes. It fills the mind with grand ideas, and turns the soul in upon herself. This, together with the sedentary life I lead, forced some reflections on me which, perhaps, otherwise would not have occurred. I considered how little man is, yet, in his own mind, how great ! He is lord and master of all things, yet scarce can command any thing. He is given a freedom of his will ; but wherefore ? Was it but to torment and perplex him the more ? How little avails this freedom, if the objects he is to act upon be not as much disposed to obey as he to command ! What well-laid, and what better-executed scheme of his is there, but what a small change of nature is sufficient to defeat and entirely abolish ? If but one element happens to encroach a little on the other,



what confusion may it not create in his affairs ! what havoc ! what destruction ! The servant destined to his use confines, menaces, and frequently destroys this mighty, this feeble lord. I have a mind to go abroad to day—my business and my pleasures require it ; but the river has overflown its banks, and I can't stir without apparent danger of my life. What, then, shall I do ? Shall I rage, fret, and accuse Providence of injustice ? No ; let me rather lament that I do not what is always right ; what depends not on the fortuitous changes of this world, nor the blind sport of fortune, but remains unalterably fixed in the mind ; untouched, though this shattered globe should fall in pieces, and bury us in the ruins. Though I do lead a virtuous life, let it show me how low I am, and of myself how weak ; how far from an independent being ; given as a sheep into the hands of the great Shepherd of all, on whom let us cast all our cares, for He careth for us.

My friend will excuse this long, and, perhaps, impertinent discourse, because I always like that the letter should contain the thoughts that, at that time, employ me. If you don't like this method, advertise me of it, and I shall mend.

MR. EDMUND BURKE, TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

February 3, 1746.

DEAR DICK,

I received both your favours; and answered, in a former letter, your question concerning examinations. Be assured that whatever sensations you had at parting were fully answered by mine. However, I can't call what I then felt, and do in part feel now, directly grief; it was rather a kind of melting tenderness tinged with sorrow, which took me wholly up, while I was alone, in thinking on the company I had so lately left; a contemplation too delightful to let me taste any thing like grief. And why should we grieve? We had made the best use of the time we were together, and omitted nothing in our power to make it entertaining and improving. And now we must break off, because the necessity of our affairs requires it; and we still live in hope to see and converse with one another again, on the same footing. Our parting, if I may make such a comparison, is like the sensation a good man feels at the hour of his death. He is conscious that he has used his time to the best advantage, and now must, through the condition of human nature, depart. He feels, indeed, a little sorrow at quitting his friends, but it is very much allayed by considering he shall see them all again. You need not fear our friend Faulkner, at least,

yet awhile. Your mentioning him makes me think what motives men have in general, for esteeming indifferent things—not from their real value, but from the names that overawe their judgment. Had any one now overlooked our letters, they should find five hundred faults, and think, may be, one part entirely ridiculous. But let us once get a reputation by our writings, or otherwise, they shall immediately become most valuable pieces, and all the faults be construed into beauties. Pope says, all the advantage arising from the reputation of wit, is the privilege of saying foolish things unnoticed ; and it really is so, as to letters, or any thing committed to writing. But I don't think it holds good with respect to conversation ; for I have observed, that where a man gets a reputation for being a little witty, all shun, fear, and hate him, and carp at and canvass his most trifling words or actions. You must forgive me, if this letter be heavy and dull. You know the writer is known by his writing. Many things conspire to make me so ; for I have been within all day, read, wrote, and ate my dinner, which last generally most effectually damps my spirits for a while. Now I mention my writing, I have done some part of my poem, even so far as the invocation, which is this :—how like you it ?

Ye beauteous nymphs who haunt the dusky wood,  
Which hangs recumbent o'er the crystal flood,

Or risen from water, as the water fair,  
'Mong the cleft rocks divide your amber hair ;  
Oft, as delighted with my rural lay,  
Earnest you listen'd all the summer's day,  
Nor thought it long ;—with favour hear my vow,  
And with your kind assistance help me now.  
And you, whose midnight dance in mystic round,  
Wi<sup>t</sup> a green circle marks the flow'ry ground,  
Oh ! aid my voice, that I may wake once more  
The slumbering echo on the Mulla's shore.  
Thou chief of floods, Blackwater, hoary sire !  
With all thy beauties all my breast inspire,  
To trace the winding channel of thy course,  
And find the hidden wonders of thy source.

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MR. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

April 26, for fear I should forget 1745<sup>2</sup>.

DEAR DICK,

I received your English manuscript, in answer to my Arabian, which I hope you have since been able to decipher. I protest, when I wrote it, I thought that though it was not as good, yet it was as legible a hand as any in the world. You see how blind we are to our own imperfections. I

<sup>2</sup> It is so dated in the original MS. letter ; yet it is certain the date of the year should be 1746. The Pretender did not land in Scotland until July, 1745, and the battle of Culloden was fought on the 16th April, 1746.



shall, however, try to mend it, and give you no just cause of complaint for the future.

This Pretender, who gave us so much disturbance for some time past, is at length, with his adherents, entirely defeated, and himself (as some say) taken prisoner. This is the most material, or rather, the only news here. 'Tis strang<sup>th</sup> to see how the minds of the people are in a few days changed. The very men who, but a while ago, while they were alarmed by his progress, so heartily cursed and hated those unfortunate creatures, are now all pity, and wish it could be terminated without bloodshed. I am sure I share in the general compassion. 'Tis, indeed, melancholy to consider the state of those unhappy gentlemen who engaged in this affair, (as for the rest they lose but their lives,) who have thrown away their lives and fortunes, and destroyed their families for ever, in what, I believe, they thought a just cause. My friend, you put a wrong construction on what I called indolence in my letter. It was no more than a simple sloth which, indeed, hindered me from doing much good, but threw me into no ill action that I know of, extraordinary. Neither do I think I keep bad company. I am, however, much obliged to you for your good advice, and if you could; without trouble, I should be glad you'd continue it. Advice never comes so acceptably, nor is it like to do so much good, as from one who

has our interest at heart, and which proceeds from a desire of improving, not reproaching us—I hope I am such.

Yours,

E. BURKE.

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MR. EDMUND BURKE, TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

Dublin, July 12, 1746.

DEAR DICK,

You may excuse, indeed, my long silence, if you know the cause of it, since nothing but the most dangerous illness my mother ever had, could prevent my writing to remove the distrust you seem to have expressed, in a late letter, of my friendship. In all my life, I never found so heavy a grief, nor really did I well know what it was before. You may well believe this, when I tell you, that, for three days together, we expected her death every moment; and really I was so low and weak myself for some time after, that I could not sit down to write; but now, as the cause is removed, and my mother (thank God!) on the mending hand, I shall be no longer silent. I can't, however, pretend to say you shall hear often from me, till you see me, which will be about the end of next week, when

your name-sake<sup>3</sup>, whom you will once more take into your protection, may answer your questions *vivâ voce*. Now I am upon that subject, I am surprised at what Mr. Bayley reported, about my father's quarrelling with yours. I always heard him, at all times, when he had occasion to mention him, do it with all the regard and gratitude that so great care and merit deserved; and furthermore, I can say, that he intended to send him back at the expiration of his quarter, as my mother told your aunt; and the only cause of his removal for that time was to divert my mother, as she was beginning to relapse into her old disorder, and not for any misunderstanding. I am glad Sisson's company was agreeable to you. I wish you may every day meet friends as pleasing; for really, after all, whatever motives it may be founded on, "*Nil ego prætulerim jucundo sanus amico*," as has been said a thousand times before. I have got a good many new acquaintances, and some odd too, whose characters may divert us when we meet. "*Quicquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas, gaudia, discursus, nostræ sunt deliciæ*<sup>4</sup>." I spend three hours almost every day in the public library, where there

<sup>3</sup> Richard Burke, younger brother of Edmund.

<sup>4</sup> This passage of Juvenal, which Burke has altered by substituting *nostræ sunt deliciæ*, for *nostri est farrago libelli*, is in the 1st Satire, v. 86.

is a fine collection of books—the best way in the world of killing thought. As for other studies, I am deep in metaphysics and poetry. I have read some history. I am endeavouring to get a little into the accounts of this, our own poor country. I'll hear from you next post, how you spend your time, and what's your present study. I have done now, and am with compliments,

Yours, &c.

E. BURKE.

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MR. EDMUND BURKE, TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

Ormond Quay, March 21, 1746-7.

YOUR last favour which I received, gave me the greatest pleasure; in which you mention your sending me another, which I received not. In this you say, you answered my queries: I beg you will answer them in your next. I think you take no bad method to fix the substance of your letter in my memory; by making some parts of it so dark, as to oblige me to read it over three or four times; and in this too, you do me a piece of service, for possibly, were it quite clear, I might pass over it without due consideration; and by that means lose abundance of pleasure and advantage, that I



might gain from a more attentive perusal. Such as, to mention one I don't yet very well understand; "it was imported hither from the country of Job, alias, the land of Uz." To mention more would be to show my own stupidity: though I have now come to the understanding of all the rest. You ask me if I read? I deferred answering this question, till I could say I did; which I can almost do, for this day I have shook off idleness and begun to buckle to<sup>5</sup>. I wish I could have said this to you, with truth, a month ago. It would have been of great advantage to me. My time was otherwise employed. Poetry, Sir, nothing but poetry, could go down with me; though I have read more than wrote. So you see I am far gone in the poetical madness, which I can hardly master, as indeed, all my studies have rather proceeded from sallies of passion, than from the preference of sound reason; and like the nature of all other natural appetites, have been very violent for a season, and very soon cooled, and

<sup>5</sup> Burke must have studied the classics, at least, with much attention, at an earlier period of his academical course; as he appears to have been elected a scholar of the house in May, 1746, after a public examination, chiefly in classics, before the provost and senior fellows of the college. At these examinations there is usually much competition; and to obtain the prize is considered a proof of ability and application. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1748, and of Master in 1751.

quite absorbed in the succeeding. I have often thought it a humorous consideration to observe, and sum up, all the madness of this kind I have fallen into, this two years past. First I was greatly taken with natural philosophy; which, while I should have given my mind to logic, employed me incessantly. This I call my *furor mathematicus*. But this worked off, as soon as I began to read it in the college; as men, by repletion, cast off their stomachs all they have eaten. Then I turned back to logic and metaphysics. Here I remained a good while, and with much pleasure, and this was my *furor logicus*; a disease very common in the days of ignorance, and very uncommon in these enlightened times. Next succeeded the *furor historicus*, which also had its day, but is now no more; being entirely absorbed in the *furor poeticus*, which (as skilful physicians assure me,) is as difficultly cured as a disease very nearly akin to it; namely, the itch. Nay, the Hippocrates of poets says so expressly:—"tenet insanabile multos scribendi cacoethes."—[Lib. i. aphor. pa. 12<sup>o</sup>.] But doctors differ, and I don't despair of a cure. Now, to what *you* shall read; which shall be, non *juveni naris obesæ*, but *curvatæ*. I must confess I would recommend Sallust, rather than Tully's epistles;

<sup>6</sup> As this passage must have been well known by Burke to be from Juvenal, his reference was probably meant in joke.

which I think are not so extremely valuable. Besides, Sallust is indisputably one of the best historians among the Romans; both for the purity of his language, and elegance of his style. He has, I think, a fine, easy, and diversified narrative, mixed with reflections, moral and political, neither very trite and obvious, nor out of the way and abstract; which is, I think, the true beauty of historical observation. Neither should I pass by his beautiful painting of characters. In short, he is an author that, on all accounts, I would recommend to you. As for Terence and Plautus, what I fancy you will chiefly get by them, as to the language, is some insight into the common manner of speech used by the Romans. One excels in the justness of his pieces, the other in the humour. I think a play in each will be sufficient. I would recommend to you Tully's orations,—excellent indeed. You will pardon, if I have been too dogmatical; but remember that what I say is always with this restriction;—that it is submitted to your better judgment. Dunkin's *Bœotia* is, I think, to be reckoned among the bad pieces; and is, in my opinion, the worst thing I ever saw of his.

MR. EDMUND BURKE, TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

Monmouth, August 31, 1751<sup>7</sup>.

DEAR SHACKLETON,

If having very little to say was sufficient excuse for my silence, I fear I should continue it much longer. The truth is, I have been so long an invalid and a traveller, (a sort of people to whom great allowances must be made,) that I was always either too weak, or too much hurried, to set about any thing. But though I omitted to write, I have not forgot how much, on every account, I am indebted to your friendship. I don't think it necessary, when a man writes to his friend, that he should make his letter a ga-

<sup>7</sup> Burke entered his name at the Middle Temple in April, 1747, and appears to have gone to London to keep law terms in 1750. During the time required for this purpose, he passed the vacations and any intervals of leisure, in travelling about England, generally in company with his friend and distant relative, Mr. William Burke. Upon these excursions, he fixed his quarters occasionally in a country town or village, leading a life of great temperance, keeping early hours, taking gentle exercise, (such as suited his then delicate state of health,) and amusing himself with books and writing. His constitution subsequently became stronger, and enabled him to endure much severe study and active employment, to nearly the close of his busy life.



zette for news; or puzzle himself for something deep and philosophical; or is obliged, under penalties and pains, to be witty. It is enough, in my opinion, to give our friend some proof that we still keep him in our memory, and receive the same from him; and I assure you I think, in this plain intercourse of honest sentiments, there is more satisfaction and more merit too, than in any affected compliments, let them be ever so fine, which none can admire, but those who don't know how they are produced, and on what occasions.

I hope your little family is well; I believe you are so good a husband and father, as to talk of it with pleasure, and that you think me so much your friend as to hear it with satisfaction; though I am no father, nor ever was, except of some metaphorical children, which were extremely short-lived, and whilst they lived (as you know) too scandalous to be owned. I hope my present studies may be attended with more success; at least, I have this comfort; that though a middling poet cannot be endured, there is some quarter for a middling lawyer. I read as much as I can (which is, however, but a little), and am but just beginning to know something of what I am about; which, till very lately, I did not. This study causes no difficulty to those who already understand it, and to those who never will understand it; and for all between those extremes, God knows

they have a hard task of it. So much is certain, though the success is precarious; but that we must leave to Providence. I am now at Monmouth, where I live very satisfactorily, am well, and know, by experience of the contrary, what a blessing that is. I wish you may not labour too much for your constitution; which now, at least, you are obliged to take care of. My most sincere respects to your father, mother, spouse, aunt, and sister; and believe me your very affectionate friend and servant,

EDM. BURKE.

Direct to me at Mr. Hipkis's, Ironmonger, in Monmouth;—my service to Hobbs: Dennis has acquainted me of his good intentions towards me.

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MR. EDMUND BURKE, TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

Turlaine, September 28, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have several letters to write this day, and must begin every one of them with an apology for not having written before. I think I have greater occasion to apologize to you than to any one, because I love you better, and have used you much worse; but I know that though my fault should require a

great deal to be said, your good-nature will dispense with it. You will believe I could not forget you; and if you do, my business is done, for that is all, in short, I can say in my defence. I have now before me your letter, which I received about this time last year, in Monmouth. I now sit down to answer it at Turlaine, in Wilts. You have compared me, for my rambling disposition, to the sun. As the simile was about the sun, it was probably a compliment; if so, I thank you for it. If it was rather a reproof, why, I thank you too; it may possibly do me more good. But, sincerely, I can't help finding a likeness myself, for they say the sun sends down much the same influences whenever he comes into the same signs. Now I am influenced to shake off my laziness, and write to you at the same time of the year, and from the same west country, I wrote my last in. 'Tis true, I am not directly at the same place; but you know, to those who are at a vast distance, things may be a great way asunder, and yet seem near. But not to run this allusion quite out of breath, since I had your letter, I have often shifted the scene. I spent part of the winter, that is the term-time, in London, and part in Croydon, in Surrey. About the beginning of summer, finding myself attacked with my old complaints, I went once more to Bristol, and found the same benefit. I thank God for it, and wish I had grace to

take, in its full extent, your very friendly and rational advice. I don't know whether I said much to you of our adventures at Monmouth; they would almost compose a novel, and that of a more curious and entertaining kind, than some of those we are entertained with from the press. I assure you, we found discourse for that town and the adjacent country whilst we stayed there, and even when we left it. Whilst we stayed, they amused themselves with guessing the reason that would induce us to come amongst them; and when we left them, they were no less employed to discover why we went away without effecting those purposes they planned for us. The most innocent scheme they guessed was that of fortune-hunting; and when they saw us quit the town without wives, then the lower sort sagaciously judged us spies to the French king. You will wonder that persons of no great figure should cause so much talk; but in a town very little frequented by strangers, with very little business to employ their bodies, and less speculation to take up their minds, the least thing sets them in motion, and supplies matter for their chat. What is much more odd is, that here, my companion<sup>s</sup> and I puzzle them as much as we did at Monmouth; for this is a place of very great trade in making of fine cloths, in which they em-

<sup>s</sup> Mr. William Burke.



ploy a vast number of hands. The first conjecture which they made was that we were authors, for they could not fancy how any other sort of people could spend so much of their time at books; but finding that we received from time to time a good many letters, they conclude us merchants; and so, from inference to inference, they at last began to apprehend that we were spies, from Spain, on their trade. Our little curiosity, perhaps, cleared us of that imputation; but still the whole appears very mysterious, and our good old woman cries, "I believe that you be gentlemen, but I ask no questions;" and then praises herself for her great caution and secresy. What makes the thing still better, about the same time we came hither arrived a little parson, equally a stranger; but he spent a good part of his hours in shooting and other country amusements—got drunk at night, got drunk in the morning, and became intimate with every body in the village. He surprised nobody: no questions were asked about him, because he lived like the rest of the world: but that two men should come into a strange country, and partake of none of the country diversions, seek no acquaintance, and live entirely recluse, is something so inexplicable as to puzzle the wisest heads, even that of the parish clerk himself. We are, however, as satisfactorily fixed as we can wish. We live in a pretty large house, which we have almost to ourselves. Our

landlady has been once a rich woman, but happening to go down in the world on the accession of the Hanover family to the throne, she attributes all her misfortunes to that event. It is the pleasantest thing in the world to hear the good folks' opinion of state affairs. In short, they are hearty Jacobites; that is, a sort of people, whose politics consist in wishing that right may take place; and their religion, in heartily hating Presbyterians. Our family consist of the old gentlewoman, an old woman, her sister, and a young fellow, her son, who is a great "*scholard*," and knows what is what, and therefore much esteemed by some of the neighbouring squires. I have troubled you, perhaps, with too many trifling particulars, but they may possibly give you a better idea of our people than a more laboured description. As for this country, though the soil is generally poor in our part of it, it is extremely pleasant, sweetly diversified with hills and woods intermixed with villages. We have one point of view from which we can reckon six steeples. The country is very populous, and it is the only one I ever saw where children are really an advantage to their parents, for I have seen little girls of six or seven years old at the wheel, and I am told that they can earn three shillings and sixpence a week each, which is more than their keeping can amount to, though I hear them say that trade is decaying amongst them,

and that formerly they had greater prices. I had a letter from Dennis some time since. He mentions nothing of his affairs, but seemed angry with me for my long silence. I wrote him an answer to excuse myself. I wish him very well, and would gladly know how the world goes with him. As for you, I suppose you have long since been a second time a father. I wish most sincerely all manner of happiness, both to the children and the father and mother. Pray remember me in the best manner to her that I have last mentioned. Assure your father and mother that I have the most grateful and affectionate remembrance of them, and give my hearty services to all friends. Believe me, with great sincerity, Dear Dick,

Your friend and servant,

EDM. BURKE.

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MR. EDMUND BURKE, TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

Battersea, August 10, 1757.

DEAR SHACKLETON,

If you will not pardon my long silence without an apology, I am satisfied that no apology I can make will induce you to pardon it. I have broken all rules ; I have neglected all decorums ;

every thing, except that I have never forgot a friend whose good head and heart have made me esteem and love him ; and whose services to me have caused obligations that are never to be broken. What appearance there may have been of neglect, arose from my manner of life : chequered with various designs ; sometimes in London, sometimes in remote parts of the country ; sometimes in France, and shortly, please God, to be in America<sup>9</sup>. During that time, however, of my silence, my inquiries about you have been warm and frequent, and I had the pleasure (you will, I hope, believe it a sincere one) of hearing that you are not deficient in success in the world, nor in domestic satisfaction. I do not know of any disappointment that vexed me so much, as having missed seeing you when you were in London. Your letter came to Mr. Burke's, in Ser-

<sup>9</sup> Burke was not called to the bar ; nor does it appear on what account he declined the profession for which he was intended, and for the practice of which he had, to a certain degree, prepared himself. He thought of removing to America, two or three years previous to the date of this letter to Shackleton ; but gave up the project at that period, on its being objected to by his father. It is said he was offered some considerable employment in the state of New York. Possibly the reputation he began to acquire about this time, by the publication of his earliest attempts in literature, induced him to abandon this renewed intention of emigrating ; for he never was in America.



geant's Inn, while I was in the country, and they did not forward it to me, expecting me in town every day. But when I arrived and found your letter, I found, at the same time, that you were returned to Ireland. Opportunities of that kind happen so seldom, and are of such value, that it is very mortifying to miss them. This letter is accompanied by a little performance of mine, which I will not consider as ineffectual, if it contributes to your amusement. It lay by me for a good while, and I at last ventured it out. It has not been ill received, so far as a matter on so abstracted a subject meets with readers. Will you accept it as a sort of offering in atonement for my former delinquencies<sup>1</sup>? If I would not have you think that I have forgot you, so neither would I have your father, to whom I am under obligations that I neither can nor wish to shake off. I am really concerned for the welfare of you all, and for the credit of the school where I received the education that, if I am any thing, has made me so. I hear with great satisfaction the account of

<sup>1</sup> The work to which Burke here alludes, is his "Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful," first published in 1756. His "Vindication of Natural Society" appeared in the same year. From the fact which he mentions here, of the work having lain by him for some time, he evidently refers to the "Philosophical Inquiry," which, it is well known, he composed in his nineteenth year.

Kearney's being chosen a fellow in our college. My brother Dick is now with me, and joins me very sincerely in the sentiments I have for you, your father, and your mother; and, shall I add, for Mrs. Shackleton? for I will not suppose myself a stranger to one who is so nearly related to you. I am now a married man myself; and therefore claim some respect from the married fraternity<sup>2</sup>. At least, for your own sake, you

<sup>2</sup> Early in this year, (1757,) as stated in a preceding note, Burke married Miss Jane Mary Nugent, daughter of Dr. Christopher Nugent, an eminent physician then residing at Bath. In the company of this amiable and accomplished woman, he passed the remaining years of his active life, in the enjoyment of the rarest conjugal felicity. To her tender and unremitting care, he owed the possession of a larger share of domestic comfort than falls to the lot of most men. The position in society which his talents obtained for him, was, almost from the time of his marriage, above that to which his fortune was equal; though that fortune was more considerable than was generally supposed. His circumstances, however, may be described as straitened during nearly the whole of his life. This state of embarrassment must have materially interfered with his application to public affairs, had not the constant superintendence and able management of Mrs. Burke relieved him from much of its effects, and left him free to pursue the bent of his genius. Burke was ever ready to express his deep sense of the benefit he derived from the attention bestowed upon his pecuniary affairs by his beloved wife. In token of his affection and confidence, he left her by his last will, the unrestricted disposal of whatever property he died possessed of. She survived him for nearly fifteen years; and

will not pretend to consider me as the worse man. I do not know whether it ever falls in your way to see Dr. Sleigh : he was not at school in my time, but I knew him in London, and I have known few more ingenious and valuable men. You see, my dear Shackleton, that I write you a rambling letter, without any connexion, just

died at Beaconsfield on the second of April, 1812. Before her decease, she had the satisfaction of discharging the last of her husband's debts. She had borne him two children :— Richard, born in February, 1758, who died in August, 1794, unmarried ; and Christopher, born in December of the same year, who died in infancy. The remains of Mr. and Mrs. Burke, of his brother, and of their son Richard, are interred within the church at Beaconsfield, where there is a tablet erected on the side wall with the following inscription :—

“ Near this place lies interred, all

That was mortal of the

Right Honorable Edmund Burke ;

Who died on the 9th of July, 1797, aged 68 years.

In the same grave are deposited the remains of his only Son,  
Richard Burke, Esq., representative in parliament for the  
Borough of Malton ;

Who died the 2nd of August, 1794, aged 35 :—

Of his brother, Richard Burke, Esq., Barrister at Law,  
And Recorder of the City of Bristol ;

Who died on the 4th of February, 1794 ;

And of his Widow, Jane Mary Burke, who died on the  
2nd of April, 1812, aged 78.”

Richard Burke's age should have been stated at thirty-six. It is properly written thirty-six at the foot of the print published after his decease.

as the matters come into my head ; but whatever I write, or in whatever way, believe me it is dictated by the sincerest regard to you, from him who is your truly affectionate and obliged friend,

EDM. BURKE.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

Dublin, August 25, 1761.

DEAR SHACKLETON,

I believe you will not be displeased to hear of my being once more in Ireland<sup>3</sup>, of the stay I intend to make here for the winter, or of my resolution to pay you a visit as soon as I possibly can. I have been very blameable as a correspondent, both to you and to Dennis<sup>4</sup>, and indeed to every body. I shall attempt no apology, and only speak for my heart, which has always done

<sup>3</sup> This removal to Dublin was probably in company with Mr. William Gerard Hamilton, who went to Ireland as secretary to Lord Halifax, in 1761. Burke had, in some way or other, connected himself with this gentleman, in or about the year 1759. The association was not fortunate, and ended, after six years' continuance, in an open rupture.

<sup>4</sup> This gentleman and Mr. Brennan, who is also mentioned in this letter, were probably school-friends of Burke and Shackleton. Their particular history is no further known than as it is given, imperfectly, in some of these letters.



justice to your merit, and to our long friendship. I daily expect my wife and family, and shall be very happy to hear that you and yours are well. I really long to see you. We have (and I suppose you have heard it) lost our poor friend Brennan. He died of a very long and painful illness; in which, however, he was exposed to no want, and which he bore with constancy. Sure he was a man of first-rate genius, thrown away, and lost to the world. I have not now much time, further than to pay my respects to Mrs. Shackleton, your father, and your mother. Believe me most truly, your ever affectionate and obliged friend,

EDM. BURKE.

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CHIEF JUSTICE ASTON, TO MR. SECRETARY HAMILTON<sup>5</sup>.

Dublin, Thursday, June 24, 1762.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was honoured with yours upon the circuit, which

<sup>5</sup> This letter from Sir Richard Aston, then chief justice of the common pleas in Ireland, and afterwards one of the judges of the king's bench in England, and the fragment from the pen of Mr. Burke which follows it, are given to the public chiefly as evidence, that eighty years ago there were disturbances in Ireland, arising from the very same causes as at present; and as perversely attributed then, as now, to matters wholly foreign to their real origin.

ended on Monday last, at Waterford ; so that you will receive this letter as early as if it had been written there.

In obedience to your commands, I have the satisfaction to assure you, that upon the strictest inquiry into the causes of the many outrages committed in the different parts of the province of Munster, there did not appear to me the least reason to impute those disturbances to disaffection to his Majesty, his government, or the laws in general ; but, on the contrary, that these disorders really, and not colourably, took their rise from declared complaints and grievances of a private nature ; and which, at the time of the several tumults, were the motives avowed by the rioters themselves ; and not broached ostensibly only, when, in fact, some other cause or expectation was the latent spring of their actions.

Whether the charge was burning houses, killing cattle, destroying mills, levelling inclosures, or disturbances of a different nature, to the possessions of others, no opportunity was missed of inquiring into the supposed inducement to the committing such an outrage ; and it ever turned out to be the result of some local dissatisfaction, which these miserable delinquents affected to act upon by way of redress, though they ever pursued vindictive, rather than relevant measures, and were extravagantly daring and violent in the execution of

them. The subject matter of their grievance was, chiefly, such as—price of labour too cheap—of victuals too dear—of land excessive and oppressive. In some instances their resentment proceeded against particular persons, from their having taken mills or bargains over the head of another (as it is vulgarly called), and so turning out, by a consent to an advanced price, the old tenant. Such was the nature of their complaints : to redress these, they acted in a very open and violent manner ; and might, I think, have fallen under the statute of 25th Edward III., by carrying their schemes to such an excess as to magnify their crimes into a constructive treason, of levying war against the king. But yet, daring as their proceedings were, there was no ingredient of any previous compact against government, or, as I may say, the original sin of high treason. I believe, indeed, that if the Dey of Algiers had landed, with any forces and a stand of arms, at such a time, people in such a temper of mind would have been readily induced to join him, or a prince of any religion, either for the sake of revenge, redress, or exchange of state, rather than continue in their conceived wretchedness.

In the perpetration of these late disorders (however industriously the contrary has been promoted), Papist and Protestant were promiscuously concerned ; and, in my opinion, the majority of

the former is with more justice to be attributed to the odds of number in the country, than the influence arising from the difference of principles. Their oath, which you have heard much of, was "*to be true to one another, and not to discover what was done, or by whom.*" Twelve persons have been capitally convicted upon this commission, and, I verily believe, will all be made examples of, unless their Excellencies will be so good as to take two into their consideration, on account of their youth, who are convicted burglars at sixteen and eighteen. I should hope ten examples sufficient. I can't conclude this without congratulating you on the deserved promotion of Lord Halifax, which I hope, for the sake of this country, is tenable *in commendam*.

My most respectful compliments wait upon his lordship. Whatever commands you are pleased to honour me with, you may depend upon my observing to the utmost of my power. My sincerest wishes for your health and prosperity wait upon you ; and I am, Dear Sir,

Your much obliged, and most obedient  
humble servant,

RICHD. ASTON.

Without any notice of its being to be signified to you, my colleague, Mr. Sergeant Malone, concurs with me in opinion, as to the cause of these



riots. When an oath was *imposed on any*, it was “to be true to *Sive and her children*; and not to discover any of the Whiteboys, her children.”

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AN UNFINISHED PAPER OF MR. BURKE'S, RELATIVE  
TO THE DISTURBANCES IN IRELAND AT THE BE-  
GINNING OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD.

SOME curiosity has been excited concerning the origin, the cause, and the true nature of the late popular commotions in Ireland. Very many gentlemen of that country have been, for several years, uncommonly active and sanguine, in propagating a system of their own upon that subject. In innumerable letters from thence, and in all their conversations here, they have described those disturbances as the effects of a real rebellion, raised in favour of the enemies of the crown of Great Britain, carried on by a correspondence with foreign powers, and supported by a plentiful and regular supply of foreign money. And as this has been so frequently asserted, and with so little doubt and hesitation, by people of fair character, and no small weight in that country, it has obtained at least some degree of credit in this.

That in a time of profound peace, while every expression of mutual kindness and confidence is

daily exchanged between us and France, that crown should carry on a treasonable plot, and even maintain, for near <sup>6</sup> six years, an army of the king's subjects in the heart of his dominions, in open rebellion against him, is surely such a daring and outrageous, as well as perfidious infraction of the treaties which subsist between the two crowns, as cannot be paralleled in the dealings between civilized nations.

That our lords justices and lords lieutenant of Ireland have not alarmed the supreme government, on that astonishing and most dangerous case; that our ministers, in the fair succession of them which we have had, of all parties and opinions, should daily hear this relation, without even inquiring into the grounds of it, and believe it, without guarding against it by any provision, or without making a single remonstrance on these acts of treacherous hostility, either by our minister in France, or to their minister in London, is sure not only altogether unaccountable, but so very criminal, that they may justly expect to answer by their heads for their negligence.

But if such a plot and rebellion had no real existence, that all the king's Roman Catholic

<sup>6</sup> It is clear from this expression that, though Sir Richard Aston's letter had been written in 1762, this fragment, relating to the same subject, could not have been composed till about 1768 or 69.

subjects throughout Ireland should have been calumniated, persecuted, and variously harassed in the most piteous manner on this account; that numbers of them should have been ruined in their fortunes, imprisoned, tried, and many even capitally executed for it; is surely a procedure altogether as unaccountable, and in those who administer our affairs, in my humble opinion, full as criminal.

If the former case be true, what must we think of the wisdom and policy of this country, who could suffer such foreign war in its bowels, without resenting or even taking notice of it, to the power which has raised it? If the latter,—what must we think of its humanity and justice? Either there was such a rebellion, or there was not. If there was, why is not the nation's quiet secured, and its independence asserted? If not, why have we endeavoured to raise and justify rebellion, by driving an innocent people to madness and despair? and, by every inducement, inviting the attempts of rival powers, by proclaiming to the world that we have a party within us which is so affectionate to their cause, so active in their favour; and by our conduct endeavouring to verify our charges, and to drive our subjects to be our enemies, whether they will or not?

Surely, surely, this is a serious matter; and, in every light, deeply interesting to this country. I

think so, for one ; and as I have had means and desire of informing myself to the bottom, I will set down what I know upon that matter.

In the year 1760, J. Fant, a Protestant and an attorney-at-law, lived on the borders of the county of Cork ; a fair practitioner, a good-natured man, and was well-enough liked by his acquaintance of all denominations, whilst his understanding remained entire. But, becoming disordered in his senses, the man grew visionary, restless, and unquiet ; entered into a number of disputes and quarrels with his neighbours, and particularly with Mr. Oliver, member of parliament for Kilmallock. His frenzy increasing daily, he undertook journeys to Dublin, where he accused this Mr. Oliver of several treasonable practices, and particularly of having brought the Pretender, in woman's clothes, and surrounded with a number of papists, publicly to a horse-race. To this he added a complaint of several oppressions of his upon the poor inhabitants of Kilmallock. It was a strange and absurd story. If every other appearance had not indicated the madness of this poor man, the family of Mr. Oliver made the former charge utterly ridiculous ; and the humanity of his disposition rendered the latter extremely improbable. However, as government had nothing to do with the affair, he and his accusation were dismissed from the castle, with a due neglect.



Immediately on the arrival of the Earl of Halifax, he renewed these charges, and complained of this neglect. His new complaint was treated like all his former; he returned to his county enraged and disappointed; and resolving to do, for himself, that justice which he in vain looked for from government, he assembled at night many of the meaner people of Kilmallock, and having warmed them with liquor, he harangued on the grievances which the poor in general suffered from the oppression of the rich; and telling them that their town-common had been illegally inclosed, and that they had a right, by law, to level the walls by which they were shut out from it, they very readily engaged under the authority of a lawyer, and that night completely demolished all the fences which inclosed their reputed common. Whether this man, or the people of this town, were guilty of further excesses, I know not; never having had a distinct account of his trial.

This, and no other beginning, had these disturbances, which afterwards spread over a great part of the adjacent county, and which have been industriously represented of so treasonable a nature.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ. TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM  
GERARD HAMILTON.

March, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

I am now on the point of acquiring, through your friendship, an establishment<sup>7</sup>, which I am sensible

The establishment to which Burke here alludes, was a pension of £300 per annum, from the Irish Treasury ; granted in this year by Lord Halifax, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, upon the application of his Excellency's secretary, Hamilton, and through the influence of Colonel Cunningham and the primate Stone. In those days such pensions were by no means unusual, and were held, without imputation or blame, by persons of station and character. Burke had been about two years with secretary Hamilton in Ireland, when this pension was granted ; and he had during that time been actively and, no doubt, usefully employed in the service of government, though without any ostensible office or any salary. His connexion with Hamilton, as has been mentioned in a former note, had been of earlier date, beginning in 1759 ; and in applying for the pension, Hamilton probably had reference to the services which Burke had rendered him, prior to his appointment as chief secretary in Ireland. Burke certainly had all those services in his mind, when he wrote to Hamilton, that the establishment would, through any other channel than his, have been unexpected. But to Hamilton he had given full value, and had a clear claim upon him for services performed. That Hamilton had been accustomed to draw largely upon his " friend and companion in his studies," (in which words Burke describes the nature of their connexion,)

is as much above my merits as, in any other channel, it may be above my reasonable expectations. I should think myself inexcusable in receiving this pension, and loading your interest with so heavy a charge, without apprizing you of those conditions on which, alone, I am able to take it; because, when I have taken it, I ought no longer to consider myself as possessed of my former freedom and independence.

I have often wished to explain myself fully to

is as evident from this letter, as that Burke wished to guard against such unreasonable demands for the future. He therefore expressly stipulates for the use of his own time for literary pursuits, and, without such reservation, declines receiving the pension. An answer to this letter is not found amongst Burke's papers. Probably Hamilton never gave one in writing; but it seems clear, by Burke's accepting the pension, that Hamilton acceded to the terms; though, as will be seen, he afterwards sought to violate them, and to appropriate the whole of Burke's life to his service. Burke having expostulated with him in vain, at length resigned the pension into Hamilton's hands, through the medium of that gentleman's attorney, in April, 1765, having held it just two years; and from thence broke off all communication with him.

It is probable that the literary work to which Burke alludes, as having in hand when he first attached himself to Hamilton, was "An Essay towards an Abridgment of English History," of which the commencement appears in the tenth volume of the works. It was never finished. Burke was also, at that time, engaged to write for Dodsley's Annual Register.

you on this point. It is against my general notions to trust to writing, where it is in one's power to confer otherwise. But neither do you hear, nor do I speak, on this subject, with the same ease with which we converse on others. This is but natural; and I have therefore chosen this method, as less liable to misunderstanding and dispute; and hope you will be so indulgent, as to hear me with coolness and attention.

You may recollect, when you did me the honour to take me as a companion in your studies, you found me with the little work we spoke of last Tuesday, as a sort of rent-charge on my thoughts. I informed you of this, and you acquiesced in it. You are now so generous, (and it is but strict justice to allow, that upon all occasions you have been so,) to offer to free me from this burthen. But, in fact, though I am extremely desirous of deferring the accomplishment, I have no notion of entirely suppressing that work; and this upon two principles, not solely confined to that work, but which extend much farther, and indeed to the plan of my whole life.

Whatever advantages I have acquired, and even that advantage which I must reckon as the greatest and most pleasing of them, have been owing to some small degree of literary reputation. It will be hard to persuade me that any further services which your kindness may propose for me, or



any in which my friends may wish to co-operate with you, will not be greatly facilitated by doing something to cultivate and keep alive the same reputation. I am fully sensible, that this reputation may be at least as much hazarded, as forwarded, by new publications. But because a certain oblivion is the consequence, to writers of my inferior class, of an entire neglect of publication, I consider it such a risk as sometimes must be run. For this purpose, some short time, at convenient intervals, and especially at the dead time of the year, will be requisite to study and consult proper books. These times, as you very well know, cannot be easily defined; nor indeed is it necessary they should. The matter may be very easily settled by a good understanding between ourselves; and by a discreet liberty, which I think you would not wish to restrain, nor I to abuse. I am not so unreasonable, nor absurd enough, to think I have any title to so considerable a share in your interest as I have had, and hope still to have, without any or but an insignificant return on my side; especially as I am conscious that my best and most continued endeavours are of no very great value. I know that your business ought, on all occasions, to have the preference; to be the first and the last, and, indeed, in all respects, the main concern. All I contend for is, that I may not be considered as absolutely ex-

cluded from all other thoughts, in their proper time and due subordination; the fixing the times for them, to be left entirely to yourself.

I do not remember that, hitherto, any pursuit has been stopped, or any plan left defective, through my inattention, or through my attention to other matters; and I protest to God, I have applied to whatever you have thought proper to set me, with a vigour and alacrity, and even an eagerness, that I never felt in any affair of my own whatsoever. If you have not observed this, you have not, I think, observed with your usual sagacity. But if you have observed it, and attributed it to an interested design, which will cease when its end is in any degree answered, my mind bears me witness that you do not do me justice. I act almost always from my present impulse, and with little scheme or design; and perhaps, generally, with too little. If you think what I have proposed unreasonable, my request is that you will, which you may very easily do, get my Lord Halifax to postpone the pension, and afterwards to drop it. We shall go on as before, until some other more satisfactory matter occurs. For I should ill brook an accusation, either direct or implied, that I had through your friendship acquired a considerable establishment, and afterwards neglected to make any fair return in my power. The thought of this has given me great pain; and I

would not be easy without coming to some explanation upon it. In the light I consider things, it can create no great difficulty; but it may possibly, to you, appear otherwise. Let this be how it will, I can never forget the obligations—the very many and great obligations—which I have already had to you; and which, in any situation, will always give you a right to call on me for any thing within my compass. If I do not often acknowledge my sense of them, it is because I know you are not very fond of professions, nor am I very clever at making them. You will take in good part this liberty; which, sincerely, is not made for the purpose of exercising my pen impertinently. Two words from you would settle the point, one way or another.

I am, with the utmost truth, ever yours,

EDM. BURKE.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

Queen Anne Street, Cavendish Square,  
April, 1763.

DEAR SHACKLETON,

I am very unfeignedly glad to hear from you, and much obliged to you, and your wife, for your kind remembrance. As to your cloak, I do not care how much of you it covers, provided I can see as

much of the face of my old friend, as his lank testimonial hair (which needs the vanity of a velvet cap to keep it out of his eyes) will permit. You rejoice me very much with the prospect of your coming to London this summer; but I should be as well satisfied you stayed at home, if you will not spend an hour with me at our court-end of the town; where you will find as much honesty, and almost as much sincerity, as any where in the city; except in Grace-church street. Be assured, I should think myself mad, if I took offence at your religious discourses;—they are full of real piety. I love that you should speak that of which your mind is full. If I cannot agree with you in a point or two, we agree perfectly in twenty others; and a difference of opinion, and a quarrel, between you and me, have never been the same thing. I congratulate you sincerely on the addition to your family; and heartily thank you for the friendly concern you take about the welfare of mine. I have had no addition to it.

My wife insists that you let us know, as near the time as possible, on what day you imagine you may be in London; and desires her affectionate regards to you and Mrs. Shackleton. Adieu! dear Shackleton. Remember me to your father and mother; and believe me, to you and yours, a most real and sincere friend,

EDM. BURKE.



I am heartily glad of the good account you gave me of my friend Dennis; and of my still holding a place in his affections. Dick desires to be remembered to his friends at Ballitore.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

Queen Anne Street, July 17, 1764.

MY DEAR SHACKLETON,

Many thanks to you for your kind letter; and pray give as many, in our name, to your father for his friendly visits; which, though not near so frequent as we wished, were yet more so than we could have expected, considering the distance of his situation, and the shortness of the time he had to spend amongst us. In the act of kindness he did not follow your example. Pray, do you follow his; and remember that if you come to this side of the water, we have a fair claim to some part of your time. You will find every one in this house extremely glad to see you. Poor Dick, indeed, is probably not for some years to expect that satisfaction. He sets off at the beginning of next week for the Grenadas<sup>7</sup>;—thank God, in good

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Richard Burke obtained, at this time, an appointment in the Customs, in the Island of Grenada, which he held for some years.

health and spirits; which are all but little enough to battle with a bad climate, in a bad season. But it must be submitted to. Providence never intended, to much the greater part, an entire life of ease and quiet. A peaceable, honourable, and affluent decline of life, must be purchased by a laborious or hazardous youth; and every day I think, more and more, that it is well worth the purchase. Poverty and age sort very ill together; and a course of struggling is miserable indeed, when strength is decayed and hope gone. *Turpe senex miles*. These thoughts are our comfort on a separation, which, you will easily believe, is affecting enough to us.

Dick desires to know how your spectacles answer. If they are too deep, or not concave enough, return them with your observation on the defect, and you shall have others. The grand test of their fitting you is your power of reading with them at a distance. Jenny and all here (for all this house knows you personally or by character) are sincerely yours, and desire to be remembered to Mrs. Shackleton, to whose friendship we have many obligations, and for whose character we have a real esteem.

Adieu! Believe me most affectionately yours,

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. WM. G. HAMILTON, TO EDMUND  
BURKE, ESQ.<sup>8</sup>

Sunday, half-past Twelve.

DEAR SIR,

My servant has this moment informed me of your kindness in calling upon me, for which I consider myself as extremely obliged to you. I am persuaded you will do me the justice to believe, when I assure you most sincerely and upon my honour, that my wishing (independent of very particular business) to decline the pleasure of seeing you this morning, is founded upon reasons which, though extremely mortifying to myself, are in no way disrespectful to you. The lively sense I entertain of your unkindness, and the very humble one I entertain of my own command of temper, make me unwilling to hazard even a possibility that any thing may pass between us, which would endanger a friendship I have, for many reasons, looked upon as so very valuable, and particularly because I concluded it would be so very lasting. I am apt to believe, that the disagreement between us is already sufficiently difficult, and I should be sorry to make it impossible to be recon-

<sup>8</sup> This, and the two following letters, were written, no doubt, early in February, 1765.

ciled. Whenever any thing occurs, on which I may wish to have the pleasure of conversing with you, I shall so far presume upon the indulgence you are pleased to allow me, as to take the liberty of troubling you.

I am, dear Sir,  
Your most obedient and faithful  
humble Servant,  
WILLIAM GERARD HAMILTON.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON.

WILLIAM GERARD HAMILTON.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter, which I received about four o'clock yesterday, seemed not to have been written with an intention of being answered. However, on considering the matter this morning, I thought it respectful to you, and, in a manner, necessary to myself, to say something to those heavy charges which you have made against me in our last conversations; and which, with a polite acrimony in the expression, you have thought proper to repeat in your letter.

I should, indeed, be extremely unhappy, if I felt any consciousness at all of that unkindness, of which you have so lively a sense. In the six years during which I have had the honour of being



connected with you, I do not know that I have given you one just occasion of complaint; and if all things have not succeeded every way to your wishes, I may appeal to your own equity and candour, whether the failure was owing to any thing wrong in my advice, or inattention in my conduct; I can honestly affirm, and your heart will not contradict me, that in all cases I preferred your interest to my own. I made you, and not myself, the first object in every deliberation. I studied your advancement, your fortune, and your reputation in every thing, with zeal and earnestness; and sometimes with an anxiety, which has made many of my hours miserable. Nobody could be more ready, than I was, to acknowledge the obligations I had to you; and if I thought, as in some instances I did, and do still think, I had cause of dissatisfaction, I never expressed it to others, or made yourself uneasy about them. I acted, in every respect, with a fidelity which, I trust, cannot be impeached. If there be any part of my conduct in life, upon which I can look with entire satisfaction, it is my behaviour with regard to you.

So far as to the past: with regard to the present, what is that unkindness and misbehaviour of which you complain? My heart is full of friendship to you; and is there a single point which the best and most intelligent men have fixed, as a

proof of friendship and gratitude, in which I have been deficient, or in which I threaten a failure? What you blame is only this; that I will not consent to bind myself to you, for no less a term than my whole life, in a sort of domestic situation, for a consideration to be taken out of your private fortune; that is, to circumscribe my hopes, to give up even the possibility of liberty, and absolutely to annihilate myself for ever. I beseech you, is the demand, or the refusal, the act of unkindness? If ever such a test of friendship was proposed, in any instance, to any man living, I admit that my conduct has been unkind; and, if you please, ungrateful.

If I had accepted your kind offers, and afterwards refused to abide by the condition you annex to them, you then would have had a good right to tax me with unkindness. But what have I done, at the end of a very long, however I confess unprofitable, service, but to prefer my own liberty to the offers of advantage you are pleased to make me; and, at the same time, to tender you the continuance of those services (upon which, partiality alone induces you to set any value) in the most disinterested manner, as far as I can do it, consistent with that freedom to which, for a long time, I have determined to sacrifice every consideration; and which I never gave you the slightest assurance that I had any intention to

surrender; whatever my private resolves may have been in case an event had happened, which (so far as concerns myself) I rejoice never to have taken place? You are kind enough to say, that you looked upon my friendship as valuable; but hint that it has not been lasting. I really do not know when, and by what act, I broke it off. I should be wicked and mad to do it; unless you call that a lasting friendship, which all mankind would call a settled servitude, and which no ingenuity can distinguish from it. Once more, put yourself in my situation, and judge for me. If I have spoken too strongly, you will be so good to pardon a man on his defence, in one of the nicest questions to a mind that has any feeling. I meant to speak fully, not to offend. I am not used to defend my conduct; nor do I intend, for the future, to fall into so bad a habit. I have been warmed to it by the imputation you threw on me; as if I deserted you on account solely of your want of success. On this, however, I shall say nothing, because perhaps I should grow still warmer; and I would not drop one loose word which might mark the least disrespect, and hurt a friendship which has been, and I flatter myself will be, a satisfaction and an honour to me. I beseech you that you will judge of me with a little impartiality and temper. I hope I have said

nothing in our last interview which could urge you to the passion you speak of. If any thing fell which was strong in the expression, I believe it was from you, and not from me, and it is right that I should bear more than I then heard. I said nothing, but what I took the liberty of mentioning to you a year ago, in Dublin: I gave you no reason to think I had made any change in my resolution. We, notwithstanding, have ever since, until within these few days, proceeded as usual. Permit me to do so again. No man living can have a higher veneration than I have, for your abilities; or can set a higher value on your friendship, as a great private satisfaction, and a very honourable distinction. I am much obliged to you for the favour you intend me, in sending to me in three or four days (if you do not send sooner); when you have had time to consider this matter coolly. I will again call at your door, and hope to be admitted; I beg it, and entreat it. At the same time do justice to the single motive which I have for desiring this favour, and desiring it in this manner. I have not wrote all this tiresome matter, in hopes of bringing on an altercation in writing, which you are so good to me as to decline personally; and which, in either way, I am most solicitous to shun. What I say is, on reviewing it, little more than I have laid



before you in another manner. It certainly requires no answer. I ask pardon for my prolixity, which my anxiety to stand well in your opinion has caused.

I am, with great truth,  
Your most affectionate and most obliged  
humble Servant,  
EDM. BURKE.

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THE RIGHT HON. WM. GERARD HAMILTON, TO  
EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Monday Night.

DEAR SIR,

As you thought it polite to answer my letter, I conclude you would think it impolite if I did not at least acknowledge yours. I have only to say, that I have thought as coolly as I can, and what is more, as I wish to think, upon a subject on which I am so much hurt. I approve entirely of your idea, that we should not write, in order to avoid altercation ; and, for the same reason, I am of opinion we should not converse.

Yours, &c.

WILLIAM GERARD HAMILTON.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO ROBERT JEPHSON, ESQ.<sup>9</sup>

Tuesday, February 26, 1765.

DEAR JEPHSON,

I waited at home Friday and Saturday last until dinner-time, in hopes that Mr. Colthurst, agreeably to what you mentioned, from Mr. Hamilton, would call on me to settle the affair of the pension, so as to assure it to Mr. Hamilton, in the most satisfactory manner. Mrs. Burke has told me you intended to call yesterday, and I waited for you. As I had not seen Mr. Colthurst or you, I inquired the method usual in such transactions, and I am informed that it is very easy and expeditious; that, upon being properly authorized, the people of the Treasury in Ireland have a short instrument, by which they transfer the pensions at a trifling charge. Mr. Hamilton will mention this to Mr. Colthurst; and I shall be ready to call on him (Colthurst), or to see him here, whenever he thinks it convenient to send over the proper powers for making this transfer. If Mr. Colthurst thinks any other way more eligible, on seeing him, I shall be

<sup>9</sup> An Irish gentleman, then resident in London, and a friend of Mr. Hamilton. To him the pension here spoken of was assigned, by Hamilton's attorney, shortly after it had been surrendered by Burke.

very glad to come into it, having no choice in the mode of the conveyance.

I am, dear Jephson, yours, &c.

EDM. BURKE.

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THE RIGHT HON. WM. GERARD HAMILTON, TO  
EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Hanover Square, April 8, 1765.

SIR,

Mr. Smith and Mr. Jephson having, at your desire, informed me of your intention to resign into the hands of the Treasury the pension of which you are now possessed, unless I would nominate a person to whom it might be assigned, I took the liberty of recommending to you our friend, Mr. Jephson, for that purpose. He has acquainted me with your objections to that nomination; and with your opinion, that Mr. Colthurst would be a more proper person upon this occasion. As this, Sir, is more agreeable to you, and not less so to me, you will be so obliging as to make an assignment of the pension to Mr. Colthurst.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

WILLM. GERARD HAMILTON.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON.

WILLIAM GERARD HAMILTON.

April 10, 1765.

SIR,

In compliance with your directions, I have executed an assignment of my pension to Mr. Colthurst. I chose him rather than Mr. Jephson, because I would have it appear, on the face of the transaction, that this conveyance was no act of friendship, nor an assignment in trust for any uses of mine; but that it was made solely to you, as a compliment to my own feeling, in consequence of the demand which you persisted in making upon me; and that no man should have even a colour to assert that I received a compensation, where I refused to perform the service which was expected in return for it. Permit me just to remind you, that, not Captain Jephson, but Mr. Colthurst, was your first nomination, and that in choosing him I have only adopted your own original idea.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

EDM. BURKE.

I shall, in half an hour, send all your books which I can just now find, in print or manuscript, except the loose pamphlets: the latter shall be sent as soon as possible; and if any should remain of the former, I shall faithfully return as I find them.



EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO JOHN HELY  
HUTCHINSON, ESQ.<sup>1</sup>

DEAR SIR,

It is so necessary for me to apologize for my long silence, and I am so unable to satisfy even my own ideas with any apology I can make, that I have twenty times begun to write, and as often desisted from my undertaking. The truth is, a certain awkwardness, arising from some late events, has added a good deal to my difficulties on this occasion. To write upon mere matters of indifference, when the very turning of my thoughts towards you filled my mind with those that were very interesting, would have given my letter an air of coldness and constraint very foreign from my natural manner, and very unlike the style in which I should always wish to converse with you. On the other hand, if my letter were to go impressed with the genuine feeling of my heart when it was full of resentment—and of resentment which had for its most just object one with whom I suppose

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and a privy-councillor in Ireland, and father of Lord Donoughmore and of Lord Hutchinson. Neither this letter, nor the following to Monck Mason, are dated; but both must have been written about the same time as that to Flood, upon the same subject, which is dated 18th May, 1765.

you live in confidence and friendship, it might have had an appearance of disrespect; an appearance as contrary to the real sense I have of the honour you do me by your friendship, as any air of reserve would be to that openness and candour, which, I suppose, first recommended me to your regard, and which, I am sure, can alone make me worthy the continuance of it. On some deliberation, I think the safer course is to speak my mind freely; for, as Mr. Hamilton's calumnies (circulated by agents worthy of him) made it necessary for me to open myself to others, it might seem some sort of distrust of your equity, or my own innocence, if I held back from you, who know both the parties, and do not want sagacity to look into their true characters. I do not expect that you should honour me with an answer to this part of my letter, because a neutrality is all I can in reason expect; and, on this subject, I am perhaps less reasonable than I wish to be thought upon others; nothing less than whole approbation being sufficient to content me, and I can construe silence into what I please.

You are already apprized, by what Mr. H. has himself caused to be reported, that he has attempted to make a property—a piece of household goods of me, an attempt, in my poor opinion, as contrary to discretion as it is to justice; for he would fain have had a *slave*, which, as it is a being of no dig-

nity, so it can be of very little real utility to its owner; and he refused to have a faithful *friend*, which is a creature of some rank, and (in whatever subject) no trivial or useless acquisition. But in this he is to be excused; for with as sharp and apprehensive parts, in many respects, as any man living, he never in reality did comprehend, even in theory, what friendship or affection was; being, as far as I was capable of observing, totally destitute of either friendship or enmity, but rather inclined to respect those who treat him ill. In spite of some knowledge and feeling of this part of his character, but actuated by a sense of what is owing to close connexion, (upon whatsoever principles it might have been entered into,) how faithful, how attached, and how zealous I have been to him you were yourself, in part, a witness; and though you could be so only in part, yet this was enough, I flatter myself, to let you see that I deserved to be considered in another manner than as one of Mr. H.'s cattle, or as a piece of his household stuff. Six of the best years of my life he took me from every pursuit of literary reputation, or of improvement of my fortune. In that time he made his own fortune (a very great one), and he has also taken to *himself* the very little one which *I* had made. In all this time, you may easily conceive how much I felt at seeing myself left behind by almost all my contemporaries. There never

was a season more favourable for any man who chose to enter into the career of public life; and I think I am not guilty of ostentation, in supposing my own moral character, and my industry, my friends and connexions, when Mr. H. first sought my acquaintance, were not at all inferior to those of several whose fortune is, at this day, upon a very different footing from mine.

I suppose that, by this, my friend Mr. Ridge has informed you of the nature of the agreement which originally subsisted between that gentleman and me<sup>2</sup>. He has, I suppose, let you into the manner in which it was fulfilled upon Mr. Hamilton's side—how that gentleman shifted and shuffled with me, in order to keep me in a state of perpetual dependence; never made me an offer of indemnity for all his breaches of promise, nor even an apology, until he imagined it was probable that others were inclined to show me more attention than he did; and then, having presumed to put a test to me which no man, not born in Africa, ever thought of taking, on my refusal, broke off all connexion with me in the most insolent manner. He, indeed, entered into two several negotiations afterwards; but both poisoned, in their first

<sup>2</sup> Of this agreement, no trace has been found in Mr. Burke's papers, beyond what is now given to the public. Mr. Ridge was a member of the Irish bar, in close habits of intimacy with the family of Burke.



principles, by the same spirit of injustice with which he set out, in his dealing towards me. I, therefore, could never give way to his proposals. The whole ended by his possessing himself of that small reward for my services, which, I since find, he had a very small share in procuring for me<sup>3</sup>. After, or, indeed, rather during his negotiations, he endeavoured to stain my character and injure my future fortune by every calumny his malice could suggest. This is the sum of my connexion with Mr. Hamilton. However, I am much obliged to him for having forcibly driven me from that imprisonment with him, from which, otherwise, I might never have had spirit enough to have delivered myself. This I thought it necessary to say to you, on the subject of a man with whom you still live in friendship, and with whom I have had, unfortunately, so close a connexion. You cannot think that, in using this freedom, I mean to deviate in the slightest degree from the real re-

<sup>3</sup> It has been seen that the pension was assigned by Burke to Mr. Hamilton's attorney, on the 10th of April, 1765, without any consideration or advantage whatever to Burke. An assignment to the attorney was deemed tantamount to a surrender of the pension to Hamilton himself, who, accordingly, soon after caused it to be made over to his friend, Mr. Robert Jephson. It was discontinued in 1767; but a new pension, of the same amount, was granted to Jephson, on the 18th October of that year, which he continued to enjoy until his death.

spect I ever entertained for your character, or from the gratitude I ought to feel for your obliging behaviour to me whilst I was in Ireland. Nobody has spoken, at all times, and in all companies, with more justice to the importance you may be of to any government, from your talents and your experience in business; and though, from my situation in life, my opinion must be of very little consequence to your interest, it will speak for the fairness of my intentions with regard to you.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO J. MONCK MASON, ESQ.<sup>4</sup>

1765.

MY DEAR MASON,

I am hardly able to tell you how much satisfaction I had in your letter. Your approbation of my conduct makes me believe much the better of both you and of myself; and, I assure you, that that approbation came to me very seasonably. Such proofs of a warm, sincere, and disinterested friendship, were not wholly unnecessary to my support, at a time when I experienced such bitter effects of the perfidy and ingratitude of other much longer and much closer connexions. The

<sup>4</sup> Ancestor of the Earls of Rathdowne, and at this time in the barrack office in Dublin. Mr. M. Mason subsequently held other employments, and was a privy councillor in Ireland.

way in which you take up my affairs, binds me to you in a manner I cannot express; for, to tell you the truth, I never can (knowing, as I do, the principles upon which I always endeavour to act) submit to any sort of compromise of my character; and I shall never, therefore, look upon those who, after hearing the whole story, do not think me *perfectly* in the right, and do not consider Hamilton as an infamous scoundrel, to be in the smallest degree my friends, or even to be persons for whom I am bound to have the slightest esteem, as fair or just estimators of the characters and conduct of men. Situated as I am, and feeling as I do, I should be just as well pleased that they totally condemned me, as that they should say that there were faults on both sides, or that it was a disputable case, as I hear is (I cannot forbear saying) the affected language of some persons. Having let you into this, perhaps, weak part of my character, I must let you into another, which is, I confess, full as weak, and more blameable; that is, some degree of mortification, which I cannot avoid feeling, at the letters I receive, almost daily, and from several hands, from Dublin, giving me an account of a violent outcry of ingratitude which is there raised against me. If the absurdity of an accusation were a sufficient antidote against the poison of it, this would, I suppose, be the most innocent charge in the

world; but if its absurdity weakens the force of it to the conviction of others, it adds to my feeling of it, when I reflect that there is any person, who has ever seen my face, that can listen to such a calumny. H.'s emissaries do more for him than he has ever attempted to do for himself. He charges me with receiving that pension during the king's pleasure (in getting me which he had the least share of four who were engaged in it), not as a favour, but as the consideration of a bargain and sale of my liberty and existence. It cannot be at once a voluntary benefit claiming gratitude, and a mercenary consideration exacting service. They may, if they are contented to speak a consistent falsehood, accuse me of breach of faith; but they can never say, without nonsense, as well as injustice, that I am ungrateful, until they can prove that some favour was intended to me. In regard to their own understanding, they will be so gracious as to drop one or the other of the charges. In modesty they ought to drop both of them; unless serving their friend with six of the best years of my life, whilst he acquired at their expense a ministerial fortune; and then, after giving him my labour, giving him also a pension of £300 a year: unless these be thought as great faults to him, as perhaps they were toward the public; and unless those delicate friends of his do not think their late grateful, sin-



cere, disinterested secretary has got enough on their establishment. You cannot avoid remarking, my dear Mason, and I hope not without some indignation, the unparalleled singularity of my situation. Was ever a man, before me, expected to enter into formal, direct, undisguised slavery? Did ever man before him confess an attempt to decoy a man into such an illegal contract, not to say any thing of the impudence of regularly pleading it? If such an attempt be wicked and unlawful, (and I am sure no one ever doubted it,) I have only to confess his charge, and to admit myself his dupe, to make him pass, on his own showing, for the most consummate villain that ever lived. The only difference between us is, not whether he is not a rogue, for he not only admits but pleads the facts that demonstrate him to be so, but only whether I was such a fool as to sell myself absolutely, for a consideration which, so far from being adequate, if any such could be adequate, is not even so much as certain. Not to value myself as a gentleman, a freeman, a man of education, and one pretending to literature, is there any situation in life so low, or even so criminal, that can subject a man to the possibility of such an engagement? Would you dare attempt to bind your footman to such terms? Will the law suffer a felon, sent to the plantations, to bind himself for his life, and to renounce all possi-

bility either of elevation or quiet? And am I to defend myself for not doing what no man is suffered to do, and what it would be criminal in any man to submit to? You will excuse me for this heat, which will, in spite of one, attend and injure a just cause; whilst common judgments look upon coolness as a proof of innocence, though it never fails to go along with guilt and ability. But this is the real state of the affair. Hamilton, indeed, I hear has the impudence to pretend that my leaving him and going to Mr. T.<sup>5</sup> is the cause of our rupture. This is, I assure you, an abominable falsehood. I never had more than a very slight

<sup>5</sup> It is not discovered by any thing in Mr. Burke's papers, that he was on terms of particular intimacy with the celebrated Charles Townshend, at this time a privy-councillor and member of the board of trade; nor with Mr. Thomas Townshend (familiarily called Tommy Townshend) afterwards Lord Sydney; nor with Mr. Charles Townshend, Lord Sydney's brother, who was a lord of the treasury in 1770; though, from a correspondence in 1771, between the latter gentleman and Mr. Burke, on the subject of the authorship of the letters of Junius, it would seem they were then on a footing of considerable intimacy. This, however, does not establish any connexion between them, such as Mr. Hamilton pointed at. It is uncertain then, whom the letter T. is meant to designate; but it is evident from Burke's denial of the fact, as well as from his becoming private secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham in the July after this letter was written, that he had not formed any engagement of the kind with any one.

acquaintance with Mr. T. till long after our rupture. O'Hara, through whom a part of the negotiation passed, will let you see that our rupture had no sort of relation to him. But Ridge will explain this point to you at large. You will show this as much as you like to any of our common friends, meaning that Hamilton should know in what a manner I speak of him on all occasions.

You are, my dear Mason, by your Bedford connexion, involved in the support of Lord W.'s<sup>6</sup> government (and I could heartily wish that your task were less difficult); with an unsupported and beggared lord lieutenant, attended with officers, to do business at a doubtful time, the best of them with middling ability, and no experience. My lord lieutenant himself is a genteel man, and of excellent natural sense, as is universally said. I wish it may turn out for your advantage, and that the barrack-board may be, not a bench, but a step of the stairs. You know, I suppose, that Hamilton endeavoured by his connexion with the Thynnes, to intrude into that family; and wanted to stipulate, for a month or six weeks' service, to get for a cousin of his a deanery; but I imagine they hear on all hands . . . .<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Lord Weymouth; appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in May, 1765.

<sup>7</sup> The draft from which this is taken is incomplete.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO HENRY FLOOD, ESQ.<sup>8</sup>

May 18, 1765.

MY DEAR FLOOD,

I thank you for your very kind and most obliging letter. You are a person whose good offices are not snares, and to whom one may venture to be obliged, without danger to his honour. As I depend upon your sincerity, so I shall most certainly call upon your friendship, if I should have any thing to do in Ireland. This, however, is not the case at present, at least in any way in which your interposition may be employed, with a proper attention to yourself, a point which I shall always very tenderly consider in any applications I make to my friends.

It is very true that there is an eternal rupture between me and Hamilton, which was, on my side, neither sought nor provoked. For though his conduct in public affairs has been for a long

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Henry Flood, at this time a member of the Irish house of commons, and subsequently one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland, and a privy-councillor in both kingdoms. He sat in the English house of commons from 1783 to his death in 1791. He brought forward a motion for parliamentary reform in 1790, which was opposed by Mr. Pitt, and negatived without a division, though the mover was complimented on both sides of the house, upon the efficiency and simplicity of his plan.



time directly contrary to my opinion, very reproachful to himself, and extremely disgusting to me ; and though, in private, he has not justly fulfilled one of his engagements to me, yet I was so uneasy and awkward at coming to a breach, where I had once a close and intimate friendship, that I continued with a kind of desperate fidelity to adhere to his cause and person ; and when I found him greatly disposed to quarrel with me, I used such submissive measures as I never before could prevail on myself to use to any man. The occasion of our difference was not any act whatsoever on my part ; it was entirely upon his ; by a voluntary, but most insolent and intolerable demand, amounting to no less than a claim of servitude during the whole course of my life, without leaving to me, at any time, a power either of getting forward with honour, or of retiring with tranquillity. This was really and truly the substance of his demand upon me, to which I need not tell you that I refused, with some degree of indignation, to submit. On this, we ceased to see each other, or to correspond, a good while before you left London. He then commenced, through the intervention of others, a negotiation with me, in which he showed as much of meanness in his proposals, as he had done of arrogance in his demands ; but as all those proposals were vitiated by the taint of that servitude with which they

were all mixed, his negotiation came to nothing. He grounded those monstrous claims (such as never were before heard of in this country) on that pension which he had procured for me through Colonel Cunninghame, the late Primate, and Lord Halifax; for through all that series of persons this paltry business was contrived to pass. Now, though I was sensible that I owed this pension to the goodness of the Primate, in a great degree, and though, if it had come from Hamilton's pocket, instead of being derived from the Irish Treasury, I had earned it by a long and laborious attendance, and might, in any other than that unfortunate connexion, have got a much better thing, yet, to get rid of him completely, and not to carry even a memorial of such a person about me, I offered to transfer it to his attorney, in trust for him. This offer he thought proper to accept. I beg pardon, my dear Flood, for troubling you so long, on a subject which ought not to employ a moment of your thoughts, and never shall again employ a moment of mine.

To your inquiry concerning some propositions in a certain assembly, of a nature injurious to Ireland, since your departure, I know none of that kind, except one made by a Mr. Shiffner, to lessen the number of ports of entry in Britain and Ireland allowed for the trade of wool and woollen-yarn of the growth of the latter country. This attempt

was grounded on the decrease of the import of those commodities from Ireland, which they rashly attributed to the greater facility of the illicit transport of wool from Ireland to France, by the indulgence of a number of ports. This idea, founded in an ignorance of the nature of the Irish trade, had weight with some persons; but the decreased import of Irish wool and yarn being accounted for upon true and rational principles, in a short memorial delivered to Mr. Townshend, he saw at once into it with his usual sagacity, and he has silenced this complaint, at least for this session. Nothing else was done or meant, that I could discover, though I have not been inattentive; and I am not without good hopes, that the menaces in the beginning of the session will end as they began, only in idle and imprudent words. At least, there is a strong probability that new men will come in, and, not improbably, with new ideas. At this very instant the causes productive of such a change are strongly at work. The Regency-bill has shown such want of concert and want of capacity in the ministers, such an inattention to the honour of the Crown, if not such a design *against* it—such imposition and surprise upon the King, and such a misrepresentation of the disposition of parliament to the Sovereign, that there is no doubt there is a fixed resolution to get rid of them all (unless, perhaps, of Grenville), but principally of the Duke of Bedford.

So that you will have much more reason to be surprised to find the ministry standing by the end of next week, than to hear of their entire removal. Nothing but an intractable temper in your friend Pitt, can prevent a most admirable and lasting system from being put together; and this crisis will show whether pride or patriotism be predominant in his character; for you may be assured, that he has it now in his power to come into the service of his country, upon any plan of politics he may choose to dictate, with great and honourable terms to himself and to every friend he has in the world; and with such a stretch of power, as will be equal to every thing but absolute despotism, over the King and kingdom. A few days will show whether he will take this part, or that of continuing on his back at Hayes, talking fustian, excluded from all ministerial, and incapable of all parliamentary service; for his gout is worse than ever, but his pride may disable him more than his gout. These matters so fill our imaginations here, that with our mob of six or seven thousand weavers, who pursue the ministry, and do not leave them quiet or safety in their houses, we have little to think of other things. However, I will send you the new edition of Swift's posthumous works. I doubt you can hardly read this hand; but it is very late. Mrs. Burke has been ill, and recovers but slowly. She desires her respects to you and



Lady Frances. Julia is much obliged to you : Will. Burke always remembers you with affection ; and so does,

My dear Flood,

Your most affectionate, humble servant,

E. BURKE.

Pray remember me to Langrishe<sup>8</sup>, and to Leland and Bowden. Dr. Nugent desires his compliments to you in the strongest manner. He has conceived a very high esteem for you.

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THE REV. DR. LELAND<sup>9</sup>, TO MESSRS. WILLIAM AND EDMUND BURKE.

Trinity College, Dublin, July 27, 1765.

You are the first minister of state, my dear Will, that ever honoured me with a letter, and, I pre-

<sup>8</sup> Sir Hercules Langrishe, a man of wit, and a member of the Irish house of commons. To this gentleman, Mr. Burke addressed a letter on the subject of the claims of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, in the year 1792, and a second on the same subject in 1795 ; both of which are published.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Thomas Leland, author of a history of Ireland, and fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. He was at this time bursar, and Dr. Andrews provost of the college. Mr. William Burke, to whom this letter is in part addressed, had just been appointed under-secretary of state, in General Conway's office ; and Mr. Edmund Burke, private secretary to the Marquis of

sume, the first that ever did even write a few lines from pure disinterested affection and regard. You have some honesty among you, I find, and that's no bad ingredient in the composition of a ministry. I should certainly repair to London on this joyful occasion, but as I am but awkward in paying my compliments to the great, I must e'en content myself with remembering you daily, as cordially as I did before you came into office. But, besides, you are to know, I am a sort of a great man myself, and find the business of my department will not suffer me to depart from Dublin. O thou quibbling<sup>1</sup> spirit of Ned! why shouldst thou set my pen a rambling in that last sentence? I am first Lord of the Treasury and Paymaster-General of the

Rockingham, who came into power, as first lord of the treasury, on the 13th of this month. Mr. Burke was not in parliament until the 26th of December in this year, when he was returned for the borough of Wendover, through the influence of Lord Verney. He was introduced to the Marquis of Rockingham by their common friend, Mr. William Fitzherbert, who was appointed to the board of trade in his lordship's administration. Mr. Fitzherbert was father of Lord St. Helen's, and of Mrs. Gally Knight, mother of the present Mr. G. Knight.

<sup>1</sup> Burke was not one of those fastidious men of letters, who affect to despise a pun; neither was he much in the habit of using the figure. Dr. Leland here apostrophizes what he assumes to be his correspondent's spirit, in order to cover his own manifest inclination to quibbling.

forces to my lawful and rightful sovereign King Andrews the Great. John Rooney, the porter, is my private secretary; and I have every morning a levee of chimney-sweepers, paviours, carpenters, junior fellows, &c. I take bribes of hares and wild-fowl from the brewer. I do jobs; and, in all respects, am perfectly a ministerial man in this little kingdom. Moralize a little, dear Will: it will do you no harm, and reflect how poor is human grandeur that can be aped by such a thing as I am.

I am provoked at your declaring that you will write us no more politics: what, you little varlet! do you begin already to talk *en ministre*, and assume the *altum silentium* of a man in office? I desire and charge you to send us some hints, at least, of what's doing, that I may go among my friends and boast of the authenticity of my intelligence.

My dear Ned, yes, I do care a little more than three farthings whether I hear from you or not, and you know I do; and it is but idle to attempt to conceal your indolence by being the first to cry out \* \* \* \*<sup>2</sup>. With all the heartfelt satisfaction of a sincere friend, do I congratulate you on this first instance of that regard, which I am confident

<sup>2</sup> The word is not clear, and therefore omitted.

fortune will hereafter show you in an ample manner. There is nothing so fatal to a man's success in the world as a connexion with a scoundrel, whatever it may promise. It is, (and I could prove it,) like dancing the ropes with a Johnny M—g—ll at your heels. You see yourself, the moment you had shaken off the load, what a good handsome caper you have cut. We think of you, and hope for you, and scheme for you; and foresee the good things that lie before you, just as they do in your domestic circle. Let who will come to govern us poor wretches, I care not, provided we are decently governed. I would not have his secretary, a jolly, good-humoured, abandoned profligate, (the most dangerous character in society,) or a sullen, vain, proud, selfish, cankered-hearted, envious reptile. Though, what matter who is either lieutenant or secretary? What we are we shall always be under any government—a very respectable, sensible people. All our men brave and virtuous, and all our women chaste as vestals. My heart and my imagination take frequent trips to London, but I cannot prevail on my lubberly body to follow them. I long to see Lord Charlemont, for whom I have had many fears and anxieties. But, indeed, Marlay has quieted them in a great measure, and the Irish politics of this winter will, I am confident, bring him back to us. I hope you



see him sometimes ; I am sure he deserves it. I give you joy of your Mount Gallagher<sup>3</sup>. I hope you make more use of it than I do of mine. I shall soon know no more of the inside of any book but an account-book, than Falstaff did of the inside of a church ; so that instead of laughing at a London scholar, I begin to think the man very happy who is any scholar at all. Let me be affectionately remembered to Dr. Nugent, for whom I have a real esteem and regard. Let Jane know us for her loving friends ; and don't let little Dick forget us. Pray what news from brother Dick ? We divide our affections most equitably among you ; only John, the little dog, doats on the remembrance of Will with particular fondness. Adieu, dearest Ned !

I beg one favour of you, dear Will (for now importunate people will beg favours of you) : it is this :—Improve this piece of good fortune to the utmost—push on briskly. Ned thinks you'll all stand, and I rely on his opinion. But, if you should go out, get in again as fast as you can, and you will exceedingly gratify and oblige your truly affectionate,

THOS. LELAND.

<sup>3</sup> The copy of an indifferent poem called "Mount Gallagher," after Leland's country house, sent by the author to Burke, Leland, and others of his friends.

MR. JAMES BARRY TO MESSRS. E. AND W. BURKE<sup>4</sup>.

Paris, December 5, 1765.

MY DEAR SIRS,

I shall, without troubling you with apologies and excuses, proceed to give you my opinion, such as it is, of the pictures, &c. that I have seen here; and as, perhaps, what I shall say does not square

<sup>4</sup> This letter from the well known historical painter, and another dated "Rome, May 23rd, 1767," with the draft of a letter from Burke to Barry, on the publication, by the latter, of his "Inquiry," in 1775, comprise the whole of the correspondence between them which has been found amongst the papers in possession of Lord Fitzwilliam. These are included, with others, in "the Works of James Barry, Esq.," published in 1809; the two letters from him to the Burkes being manifestly printed from unfinished and imperfect drafts, which is the reason for giving, in this collection, the letters themselves. That from Burke, dated Jan. 15th, 1775, appears, from its manner, to indicate that there had been a previous misunderstanding between them.

The Burkes had known Barry in early life, and his talents having attracted their attention, they determined, though their own circumstances were not very flourishing, to give their less affluent countryman the benefit of visiting and passing some time at Rome, and of studying the most celebrated paintings in different parts of Europe. An annual allowance was assigned and regularly paid to him for this purpose; and a friendly correspondence was carried on between them during the five years which Mr. Barry spent abroad, though (with the exception of the letters here given) not preserved amongst Mr. Burke's papers.

either with the critical notions of the world or the more popular ones, I would be very uneasy about the truth and certainty of it, but that it comes into your hands, from whom I have already experienced so much indulgence and partiality. Had I here the advantages I enjoyed in England, of hearing your remarks on these things before I had ventured out my own, I would have but little diffidence about it. I find there is little use to be made of the general remarks and criticisms of those who have written characters of the artists, and brought their merits and defects to a standard, and fixed classes; 'tis liable to so many exceptions, that one is every day in danger of being misled who lays any weight upon them. Men are not always the same; they are sometimes attentive to one manner, sometimes to another. Different subjects, and a number of other things, often make them very different from themselves. There are some who are generally defective in light and shadow, that sometimes produce fine effects of it. The same may be said in composition and the other parts of the art. Whether this is the effect of chance or design I will not affirm, but I am sure of the fact. This consideration obliges me to lay aside the common practice, of determining the merit or demerit of every individual performance by the general character of the artist, though I shall allow it freely to the bulk of the world, as decisions

by that means are more facilitated, since they are freed from a number of embarrassing circumstances, and, consequently, come more within the reach of every fine gentleman who has a taste.

Not to wander too far from that which is more properly the subject of my letter, I shall present you, not with a catalogue of every thing I have seen at the Palais Royal, the Luxembourg, Versailles, &c. but with such accounts as I can of the things which struck me most; though I absolutely confess it out of my power to express the thousandth part of what I felt upon the sight of two pictures at the Palais Royal. The first (and, indeed, incomparably the first picture I ever saw in my life,) is by Le Sueur, Alexander drinking the potion, and looking on his physician whilst he reads the letter. Here is every thing I wished for in a picture; the style of the figure is, to the last degree, great, noble, and unaffected; the story told in the most interesting manner; the colouring, and every thing that regards the execution, is exceedingly sweet and perfect. This is not a picture done in the juvenile state of the art, when one perfection must atone for a number of imperfections; here is no brick-dust sooty colouring—nothing staring—no want of harmony, though 'tis designed in the most exalted *gusto*. The other picture, by my favourite, Nicholas Poussin, is Moses striking water from the rock. 'Tis the



best-designed picture I have seen of his, and you know he is always exquisite in this part; the colouring, clear-obscure, and composition are so much above every thing else of his, that one would be tempted to think it the work of a different hand, but that you see approaches to this manner in some of his other pictures. Add but a little mellowness and tenderness to the colouring, and 'tis ultimately perfect. The largest of these two pictures does not exceed the size of your Dargle<sup>5</sup>. If you think proper I should stay here a little time, I would be glad to send you copies of them, as I am sure they are perfectly agreeable to your wishes. Permission is not difficult; and, by writing to some of your acquaintance, it may be easily procured.

There are four pictures of Poussin's in the Luxembourg, representing the Four Seasons, in stories taken from the Scriptures;—viz. Adam and Eve in the garden, for the Spring; Boaz and Ruth, the Summer; Joshua and Caleb bringing home the bunch of grapes, and the universal deluge, for the Autumn and Winter. Those pictures are designed with the usual judgment and fine fancy of Poussin; and yet are woolly, dry, and very inferior in point of execution, colouring, and effect, to his other

<sup>5</sup> Probably a painting of the Dargle—a beautiful spot in Lord Powerscourt's demesne, near Bray, in the county of Wicklow, well known to Irish tourists.

picture of Moses, &c. The picture of the Deluge is designed admirably ; there are but few objects—two figures in a boat, upset by a cataract, lifting up their hands to heaven—some heads and legs appearing above the water, and all the rest such a wild dreary waste, as freezes one with horror, while it presents one with the truest picture of desolation. There is a picture in the Luxembourg of Jupiter and Antiope, by Correggio. The sweetness, harmony, and spirited pencilling in this picture, that ability which still is so conspicuous in the manual part, makes me very doubtful about the originality of those which go under his name that I have seen in England.

I came over here with the most profound veneration for every thing of Raphael's. His Madonnas and Holy Families at the Palais Royal and at the Luxembourg, are very far from confirming it. Should I make use of my own eyes, as artists generally do, when they are minded to cull out and profit by what they have seen, these pictures of his should not prevent my applying to other sources for almost every particular excellence in the art. I shall not, however, change my opinions of him. I have every expectation from his larger compositions at Rome, his history of Cupid and Psyche, and his pictures from the Old and New Testaments. Le Sueur's history of St. Bruno, painted in the cloisters of the Chartreux, has much

exceeded any idea I could form of it before I went there—(my opinion of him is every day increasing)—though they are very much injured by some envious hand, they are sufficiently perfect to show how much Le Brun or his disciples (to whom this piece of rascality is ascribed) had to fear from such a performance, in which every thing is excellent, even to the touching of the landscapes and back-grounds, which are in the highest taste both of invention and execution.

There are some antique statues at Versailles which I admire exceedingly, particularly that of a young man taking off or putting on his sandals before or after bathing, which has left me but little relish for that profusion of modern statues which are up and down the gardens. 'Tis a most delightful earnest to me of what I am to expect at Rome. I can believe the ancients capable of any thing after this. Gougeon and Bouchardon were, I think, the best French statuary. We have here two fountains; the basso-relievos and figures do them both great honour. Old Coustou and Le Pautre had great merit in the same way; and next, I think, come Falconer, Girardon, Pigal, and Puget, the worst of which I think much above any we have, though it may not be proper in me to say it.

What I have seen, gives me more and more reason to admire Mr. Reynolds. You know my sentiments of him already; and the more I know

and see of the art, the less likely they are to change. Please to remember me to my friend Mr. Barrett, and tell him that Mons. Vernet, though fine, has seen very little to surprise him, who has seen the Snowdon, or the premium picture. My most sincere respects to the Doctor. Certainly France has been very much changed since he has been in it, for there is but little of his deep extensive knowledge to be discovered amongst the medical people here. I hope Mrs. Burke, Mr. Richard Burke, and Master Richard—Mr. Nugent, Mr. Ozier, and the family, enjoy the good health and satisfaction I left them in; which nobody wishes more sincerely than,

Dear Sirs, your obliged, humble servant,

JAMES BARRY.

My compliments to Messrs. Netterville, Creagh, English, Hamilton, and to all friends.

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THE REV. DR. MARKHAM<sup>6</sup> TO WM. BURKE, ESQ.

Rochester, December 29, 1765.

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you most heartily for your affectionate letter, and am ashamed of my inattention, in suffering those who take so warm a part in our happiness, to be so long in suspense about it. Our

<sup>6</sup> Dr. William Markham, afterwards Archbishop of York.



house has been full of people till yesterday, when Mr. Cooper and his family left us. During that time I wrote many letters, and thought that one of them had been to you. We are perfectly well. The measles have run through all the children; the youngest, who gave us most apprehension, had them more slightly than any of the rest.

I was informed of Ned's cold, by a letter from Skynner; I am very glad to hear it is so much better. I should be grieved to hear he was ill at any time, and particularly at so critical a time as this. I think much will depend on his outset; I wish him to appear at once in some important question. If he has but that confidence in his strength, which I have always had, he cannot fail of appearing with lustre. I am very glad to hear from you that he feels his own consequence, as well as the crisis of his situation. He is now on the ground on which I have been so many years wishing to see him. One splendid day will crush the malevolence of enemies, as well as the envy of some who often praise him. When his reputation is once established, the common voice will either silence malignity, or destroy its effect.

As to my good wishes towards him and you, God knows you have always had them, though it has not been in my power to give you much proof of them.

What is done about the Irish pension? I hear

it is taken from Hamilton, and that Ned is to have it in a more agreeable shape<sup>7</sup>. I think the session has opened with as many circumstances of disgrace to your opponents, as you could possibly wish; and that your prospects brighten every day.

We propose being in town in about a fortnight, though we do not yet know where. We shall probably have a furnished house in Pall Mall.

Adieu, my dear Burke, and make our best compliments to the house in Queen Anne-street<sup>8</sup>.

I am most affectionately yours,

W. MARKHAM.

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THE REV. DR. LELAND, TO EDM. BURKE, ESQ.

January 9, 1766.

MY DEAR NED,

I said I would write to you when you became a great man and member of parliament; and God knows, though I sit down to fulfil my intentions, I have nothing to say but what

<sup>7</sup> The history of this pension has been already given. It is hardly necessary to remark that it never was in contemplation to restore it to Burke; nor did he desire to recover it.

<sup>8</sup> Edmund Burke's then residence.

need not be said; for I am sure you are just enough to believe, that no one can feel more cordial joy than I do, in every instance of good fortune that can attend you. But though I call you a great man, according to the low, contracted notions of a college, you must grow much greater still before I shall condescend to court or flatter you. You are now, I am certain, a man of business; deeply immersed in public affairs, commercial and political. You will, I am certain, show yourself a man of business in the House of Commons; and you will not, I am certain, build your reputation and consequence there, upon a single, studied, manufactured piece of eloquence; and then, like the brazen-head, shut your mouth for ever. I trust I shall hear of your rising gradually, though rapidly; that I shall hear of ministers begging that you would be pleased to accept of being vice-treasurer of Ireland; and then, of your soaring so high, as to be quite out of view of such insects as I; —and so good night, my dear Ned! If ever chance should bring us together, we are quite ruined as companions. The saunterings, the readings, the laughings, and the dozings in Mount Gallagher, are all over. Your head is filled with questions, divisions, and majorities; — Canada Bills, Jettées, Manilla ransoms, and stamp-duties. My thoughts are employed on Lowth and War-

burton, fellows' accounts, mutton, beer, and chimney-sweepers' bills. By the way, don't forget to frank me Browne's answer to Lowth, the moment it appears. I fear, that as I have been praised by Lowth, I shall be confoundedly mauled by Browne. And, really, this is as interesting to me, as it is to you whether the ministry are to be mauled or no. Ridge paid me a visit when I had gotten thus far, and desired me to apologize for not having answered your letter; and, indeed, he too is become so much a man of business, that I should not have seen him; only, as I am a sort of money-changer, he came to negotiate some of your sister's fortune. I give you joy on that event<sup>9</sup>. Lord Charlemont, the only one I spend a great deal of time with, is warmly yours. You will be sorry to hear that our poor friend Sullivan has been laid on his back some months, by a dreadful paralytic stroke. The provost will be in London about the same time with this letter. See him, for he loves you. Is my worthy and amiable friend, Dr. Nugent, as young, and as good-humoured, as when I saw him? Entreat him to remember me as kindly as he can. Tell Will I love him; and that it would be a condescension not unworthy of him to write to me.

<sup>9</sup> The marriage of Miss Burke with William French, Esq., of Loughrea, in the county of Galway.



Mrs. Burke has all our best and kindest wishes; and John sends his compliments to little Dick.

Adieu, my dear Ned;—and believe me yours,  
with a most real and affectionate regard,

THOS. LELAND.

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DR. MARRIOTT<sup>1</sup> TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Southampton-street, Holborn, February 8, 1766.

SIR,

Permit me to tell you, that you are the person the least sensible, of all the members of the House of Commons, how much glory you acquired last Monday night; and it will be an additional satisfaction to you, that this testimony comes from a judge of public speaking, the most disinterested and most capable of judging of it. Dr. Hay<sup>2</sup> assures me, that your speech was far superior to that of every other speaker on the subject of the colonies that night. I could not refrain from acquainting you with an opinion, which

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Sir James Marriott, Knt., and judge of the high court of admiralty: appointed in 1778.

<sup>2</sup> George Hay, LL.D., member for Sandwich, afterwards knighted on being appointed judge of the high court of admiralty, in 1773. He died in 1778, and was succeeded by Sir James Marriott. Dr. Hay was of the Duke of Bedford's party in politics.

must so greatly encourage you to proceed; and to place the palm of the orator, with those you have already acquired of the writer and philosopher.

As a very small and unequal return of the pleasure I have received from your writings, I beg leave to make you a present of a book, which is rather better printed than common books, and to which you will be pleased to afford the honour of a place in your library, as to a trifle which is not to be purchased.

I did myself the honour, a few years ago, when I first printed it, to send one to my Lord Rockingham, by his sisters, the ladies Susan and Harriet Wentworth<sup>3</sup>. You will be so good as to show him your book at some leisure hour, and ask him, from me, whether he has it in his collection; for in case he has never received it, if I had but one remaining, (and I have but very few,) I should be proud to present it to a person of his distinguished taste; and I know nothing in which he has done himself more honour, in the world's opinion, than in placing yourself about him.

I am, Sir, with extreme respect, your most  
obedient humble servant,

JAMES MARRIOTT.

<sup>3</sup> The name *Susan* is given in mistake; it should be either Mary or Charlotte.

MR. ARCHIBALD HENDERSON <sup>4</sup>, TO EDM. BURKE, ESQ.

Jermyn-street, February 9, 1766.

SIR,

In obedience to your commands, I inclose you a copy of the memorial drawn up by the merchants of Glasgow, showing the alarming situation they are reduced to, in consequence of the Stamp-act. I also inclose you a copy of a letter, which was written to a member of the House of Commons, who desired a more particular information than was given in the memorial. Indeed, from perusing the copy of that letter, you will find that some parts of it allude to a conversation, which must necessarily have passed; for I should not, otherwise, have presumed to have given any opinion in matters of so delicate a nature.

The merchants of Glasgow (under the greatest concern for their depending property in North America) have authorized Mr. Glassford, Mr. M'Call, and myself, to act here on their behalf,

<sup>4</sup> A considerable merchant in Glasgow; the act of parliament to which he alludes, having been introduced by Mr. George Grenville, when prime minister, and passed in March, 1765. The object, as is well known, was to raise money in the American colonies, to be paid into the treasury of the mother-country. It was repealed during the administration of the Marquis of Rockingham, in this year.

in representing the particular hardships of their situation. They are far removed from the seat of public deliberations, and never desire to give unnecessary trouble to the legislature. But when their very being, as merchants, is at stake, they are constrained to make known those fears, which they have reason to think are but too well founded ; and without expecting that the whole plan of government is to be altered on their account, they only desire to be considered so far as they may be an object worthy of its attention.

The nature of the trade of Glasgow with Virginia and Maryland, (perhaps the two most valuable provinces to Great Britain, upon the continent,) you will find to be pretty fully explained in the inclosed memorial and letter. It may not, perhaps, be impertinent to inform you, Sir, that the merchants of Glasgow do not exceed the bounds of truth, when they assert the debts due to them, from those provinces alone, to be above half a million sterling. The debts that compose this gross sum are due from a great number of debtors ; and many of them, of course, for small sums. In this situation does anarchy prevail. No courts of justice are held ;—no security left to creditors, but the honesty of their debtors.

It is endeavoured to be shown, in the inclosed letter, that without the magistrates of Virginia



and Maryland are willing, of themselves, to hold courts, they cannot be compelled to do so. Should they then be firmly determined not to perform their offices, while there is a stamp-duty upon the paper used in law proceedings, what is to be done? Why, I presume it will be said, that judges may be appointed from England, with proper salaries, to go out to those provinces and administer justice. Be it so. But how are the decrees of such judges to be put in execution? By an armed force alone, if the whole people are refractory. I forbear to say any more upon this subject, and have the honour to be, with very great respect,

Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

ARCHD. HENDERSON.

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SIR GEORGE MACARTNEY <sup>5</sup>, TO WILLIAM BURKE, ESQ.

St. Petersburg, February  $\frac{10}{21}$ , 1766.

MY DEAR SIR,

Having had the pleasure of writing to you by the common post some time since, I have nothing to add but to entreat the favor of you to forward the inclosed letter to our friend Ned; and to beg that, in your next, you would give me some ac-

<sup>5</sup> At this time ambassador at St. Petersburg from the court of London. He was subsequently raised first to the Irish, and afterwards to the British peerage, and held several important appointments under the British government.

count of his *débüt* in the House of Commons. I have no idea of abilities greater, or more parliamentary, than his; and I shall be very impatient till I know whether the rest of the world does him as much justice as I do. Tell me, at the same time, whether you are likely soon to get into parliament yourself. I am sure I know no man more worthy of a seat there, than him who made so generous a sacrifice of his own pretensions to the advantage of his friend.

Adieu, my dear Will! Believe me most sincerely and affectionately ever yours,

GEORGE MACARTNEY.

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DR. MARRIOTT TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Southampton-street, Holborn, February 26, 1766.

SIR,

I cannot refrain from acquainting you, that, after the favour you did me yesterday, Dr. Hay gave me some account of what passed in the House the night before, and spoke of your exertion there a second time with the highest encomiums. I said that you had expressed yourself to me, with a diffidence of your manner being stiff and constrained, as in an attempt to which you had not been accustomed. His answer was as follows;—that your modesty in private might prevent you from judging truly of yourself in public; that

nothing in the world was more remote from awkwardness, or restraint, than your manner; that your style, ideas, and expression, were peculiarly your own, natural and unaffected; and so different from the cant of the house, or the jargon of the bar, that he could not conceive any thing more agreeable. That you did not dwell on a point till you had tired it out, as is the way of most speakers, but kept on with fresh ideas, crowding upon you, and rising one out of another; all leading to one point, which was constantly kept in view to the audience: and although every thing seemed a kind of new political philosophy, yet it was all to the purpose, and well connected, so as to produce the effect;—and that he admired your last speech the more, as it was *à l'impromptu*.

I thought he was describing to me a Greek orator, whose select orations I had translated four times, when I first went to the university; and therefore marked the traits of this character. It was impossible for me not to communicate to you a decision from so great a judge and master himself, though differing from you in party; that you may go on in a way you have begun with such glory to yourself, and to which you add so much by being little sensible of it.

I am, Sir, with the most perfect esteem and attention possible, your obedient servant,

JAMES MARRIOTT.

ADDRESS OF THANKS<sup>6</sup>, TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Lancaster, June 12, 1766.

SIR,

With hearts full of gratitude and respect, we, the merchants of Lancaster, beg leave to return you our most sincere thanks for the great attention you have given to the commercial interest of Great Britain and her colonies, during the last long and laborious session of parliament, both by removing obstructions that lay in the way of commerce, and opening new sources of trade, unknown in former times; from which we have the most sanguine hopes, that, in future, the manufactures and navigation of this kingdom will be greatly increased and extended. We are, with perfect respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servants,—(Here follow seventy-seven signatures.)

<sup>6</sup> This is probably the first address of thanks presented to Burke, as a public man. Very many of the same character were subsequently offered, as tributes to his unequalled ability and attention to business. Many are not inserted, as they would greatly augment the bulk of these volumes, without adding to a reputation now too firmly established to need their support.



EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM <sup>7</sup>.

Dublin, August 21, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have let slip a post since my arrival in Dublin, without paying my respects to you on your arrival at Wentworth. I am ashamed of the appearance of a neglect so contrary to my duty ; and (I hope you will believe) to my sentiments. The truth is, I wished to learn a little of the *bon-ton* of this place, relative to the late and present administration, before I troubled you with a letter. This

<sup>7</sup> Charles, second Marquis of Rockingham, who, as has been stated in a former note, came into office at the head of the treasury, in 1765, and appointed Burke his private secretary. Upon the breaking up of this nobleman's administration in 1766, Burke, though little more than six months in parliament, had so distinguished himself by general information and readiness in debate, as to render his support an object to the party succeeding to power. Overtures were accordingly made to him soon after the change in administration, and again in the next year, but declined. He was personally attached to the Marquis of Rockingham, whose amiable manners and private worth had won his respectful affection ; and coinciding with his lordship upon all leading points of politics, he devoted himself to the party of which the marquis was leader, and prosecuted its interests for many years with the greatest ability and zeal, as the correspondence which follows abundantly proves.

great town is, indeed, at present, only a great desert; but amongst those who remain, there is but one opinion with regard to your lordship. They are loud in declaring that no minister ever went through employment, or retired out of it, with so much true honour and reputation. About the new system, there is much doubt and uneasiness. There is still a little twilight of popularity remaining round the great peer<sup>s</sup>, but it fades away every moment; and the people here, who, in general, only reflect back the impressions of London, are growing quite out of humour with him. We have odd accounts from thence, of which it is not very easy to find the solution. I begin almost to fear, that your lordship left town a little too early. I think your friends must, since then, have wanted your advice on more than one occasion. Am I to attribute the resignation of Saunders to his having received some new instance of disregard from the great disposer? I thought it was a settled point, that none should go out without the concurrence of the party. But gentlemen, who are really such, do not easily submit their feelings to their politics. After this, can Keppell, or any of the rest, stay in? And is Lord

<sup>s</sup> The Earl of Chatham, who was raised to the peerage on coming into office as privy-seal, on the 30th of July in this year. It is well known how much popularity he lost on the occasion.

Egmont's resignation the effect also of temper<sup>9</sup>? That event, I own, surprises me. It looks as if Mr. Pitt would find that the offer of privy-seal of Scotland was by no means sufficient for Lord Bute<sup>1</sup>. Nothing but weakness appears in the whole fabric of his ministry; yet I do not see what strength the party is likely to derive from thence. His necessities and his anger may drive him into the arms of the Bedfords; for, I confess, I think he is gone too far to think of returning to the good ground which he originally declined to stand upon. I saw in the Chronicle an account of the address<sup>2</sup>; and, I confess, I have seldom in

<sup>9</sup> Lord Egmont, who came in with the Marquis of Rockingham, as first lord of the admiralty, does not appear to have quitted office until the 16th Sept. 1766, when Sir Charles Saunders, who had also obtained a seat at the board in the preceding year, succeeded to his lordship. Admiral Keppell, who had come in at the same time, continued in office as a junior lord.

<sup>1</sup> The privy-seal of Scotland was given to the Right Hon. James Stuart Mackenzie, brother to Lord Bute, on the 30th of August, 1766. John, third Earl of Bute, is well known as the favourite minister of George the Third, who made the peace of Paris in 1763. After quitting office, he was supposed to have been for many years his Majesty's confidential adviser, though this fact has been disputed and denied.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Burke probably alludes to an address presented to the Marquis of Rockingham on the 6th of August in this year, by a deputation from the merchants of London, trading to the West Indies and North America. It is given in the

my life been more thoroughly mortified. It was not very long; it was really simple, neat, and elegant. The abstracting (which, by the way, was not very well done,) did great mischief to it. I do not like your lordship's method of putting your popularity into your cabinet, like a curious medal. It is current coin, or it is nothing. I am really vexed; as I think, properly managed, it would have led the other towns. May I flatter myself, that whenever your lordship has a leisure moment, I may be favoured with your remembrance and your directions? You would not do me justice, if you thought any person attached to your interest, your honour, or your satisfaction, with a warmer zeal than,

My lord,

Your most obedient, and ever obliged,  
humble servant,

E. BURKE.

I beg your lordship will present my humble respects, with those of Mrs. Burke, to Lady Rockingham. I hope the air of Wentworth has re-established her health. I just hear that they are negociating with Yorke<sup>3</sup>; I fear for him.

Annual Register for 1766. The marquis subsequently (on the 17th of August) made a public entry into York, and received complimentary addresses from all the principal trading and manufacturing towns in the north.

<sup>3</sup> The Hon. Charles Yorke, second son of Lord Chancellor



Permit me to remind your lordship, if you should honour me with your commands, to inclose your letter to the Rev. Dr. Leland, Trinity College. This is a safe channel.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

Dublin, August, 1766.

MY DEAR SHACKLETON,

I am much obliged to you for your kind and early remembrance of me. But why should you dash this obligation, by telling me of bishops and horse-races, and meeting my brother? As to bishops, you know they may be had for two a penny in parliament-winter, in Dublin. Horse-races I neither understand nor like; and, as to my brother, a day's difference in seeing him, whom I had so very lately seen before, could hardly take me a journey of thirty miles. Therefore, my friend, do not be civil and peevish at once; but attribute

Hardwicke. He was attorney-general, for the first time, in 1762, and afterwards in Lord Rockingham's administration in 1765, which office he resigned the year following. He was appointed lord high chancellor in January, 1770, an office of which he was deprived by death, a few days after his appointment. In a subsequent letter, written in that year, Burke gives his character in terms full of respect and affection.

my visit then, as I would have you attribute that which, (please God,) we shall shortly make you, to their true and only cause—the sincere affection which we have for you and yours. We propose to spend a very happy day in Ballitore, but circumstances are such, that I cannot just now settle the exact time; so that I fear I must not promise myself the pleasure of meeting you at Dennis's. I am vexed at this, as I am sure I wish your company as long as we can have it. Mrs. Burke gives her love to Mrs. Shackleton, and will wear a cap all this time at Ballitore, in compliment to her; and it will be as large as she can desire, and yet will leave her something to observe upon too. For, next to finery in a lady herself, the criticism of it in another's case is the highest satisfaction that can be; and this is one way of indemnifying one's self for the plainness of one's habit; so much for you, Mrs. Shackleton;—I owe it to you. Pray remember us to the other side of the river; and believe me, with very hearty affection,

Dear Shackleton, ever yours,

E. BURKE.

The elder Richard, but not the younger, is with us; and would not be forgot at Ballitore<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> The elder Richard the brother, the younger Richard the son of Edmund Burke.

MRS. BURKE <sup>5</sup> TO MRS. HENNESSY.

Loughrea, October 25, 1766.

MY DEAR NELLY,

The last post brought me your very agreeable and welcome letter; and am greatly pleased to hear that you and our friends with you are all well; and am sure it will be very agreeable to you to hear that poor Julia is as well as can be expected. She was brought to bed last Friday se'nnight, and has got a foxy daughter. She had a quick and speedy labour; was not above five hours ill. She had a Doctor Bell, who lives in this town, to deliver her; it was the evening of that day, that her brothers and sister set off from hence to Dublin. I believe I need not tell you, that my pleasure in having them here, where I kept them in my view during the time of their stay, was heartily dashed at parting. They had all the gentlemen and ladies of this town and neighbourhood to visit them, and had as many invitations to dinner, had they accepted of them, as would take up a great many days. Mr. French, of Rasan, was in Cork, when they came to this country; the next morning after his coming home, he, Miss Nagle, Mrs. O'Flaherty, and Miss Driscoll, came here, and in two days after we were all engaged to Rasan,

<sup>5</sup> The mother of Mr. Burke, and at this time a widow.

where we dined, and could not get from thence that night, and it was with much ado Jane and I could get away. Mr. French, of Rasan, Ned, and Dick, went to look at Galway, and a great lake that is near it. As soon as they got into Galway, the bells rang for them. The Monday following, the corporation met and voted the freedom of that city to be sent to Ned in a silver box.

My dear Nelly, I believe you will think me very vain; but as you are a mother, I hope you will excuse it. I assure you that it's no honour that is done him that makes me vain of him, but the goodness of his heart, which I believe no man living has a better; and sure there can't be a better son, nor can there be a better daughter-in-law than his wife. I will say nothing of Dick, because you would have no longer patience with me. I am much obliged to you for your desire of seeing me in your country, which I believe will never be. You and your father were the only friends that ever inquired for me, since I left it last; and I really do not blame them in the least; for I am now very sensible how exceedingly troublesome I was, for the very long time that I was in a very poor way amongst you all, which makes me shudder as often as I think of it, and I believe it has been worse with me than I can recollect<sup>6</sup>. My

<sup>6</sup> Mrs. Burke had suffered much heavy and continued sickness.



consolation is, that the great God afflicted me in this world for my good. I am very sorry to hear that your mother Hennessy is in a bad state of health ; when you see her, thank her most heartily for her kind inquiries for me. I have at all times received a great deal of friendship from her, and I wish her better health with all my heart. Pat French could not meet with sheeting he liked, but has bespoke a piece to be made on purpose for you, which he is promised will be very good, and will be sent you as soon as it is wove. It is to be made of white yarn. This is a very agreeable town to live in ; and I believe there is not a little town in Ireland that has so many families of fortune as there are here. I hope to be in Dublin about the middle of next month, where I will find a great change from a very good table here—two courses ; abroad, a coach and six to take the air ; to return to a leg of mutton, and good strong boxes to walk in. However, I will be as content with the latter as the former ; and will think myself very happy, if it pleases God to preserve me the few children I have alive and well. Your friend Julia and I could wish you had said something of your little ones. She and Mr. French desire to be most affectionately remembered to you, Mr. Hennessy, and your father ; and pray assure them of my best regards. They say that it would give them great pleasure to see you and

James here. They were in hopes that your father would be at Ballinasloe fair, and that he would come from thence here. I was sorry to hear of the death of poor Mrs. Burke of Daran. In her situation it must be shocking; she scarcely deserved pity, for changing her condition at her time of life. I have filled my paper, and have only room left to wish you all happiness; and believe me to be your most affectionate aunt,

MARY BURKE.

I forgot to tell you that you are a great favourite of Mrs. Burke's; and that you appeared more amiable in her eyes, in your crape gown, than the finest-dressed lady she saw in your country.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE LORD MAYOR OF  
DUBLIN <sup>6</sup>.

Queen Anne-street, February 25, 1767.

MY LORD,

The honour which I have lately received from my native city, has been much heightened by the

<sup>6</sup> The Right Hon. Francis Featherstone. Mr. Burke was presented with the freedom of the city of Dublin, by special grace, on the 16th of January, 1767; and (as it is recorded) "in consideration of his distinguished abilities, so frequently exerted for the advantage of this kingdom," (Ireland,) "in parliament."

polite and obliging manner in which your lordship has been pleased to convey it to me. I have no small satisfaction in finding that there is any thing in my character or conduct capable of recommending me to the attention of so worthy a man, and so excellent a magistrate as your lordship. The city of Dublin, in rating my endeavours, upon the partial representations of my friends, has set them much above any thing they could deserve; but they cannot overrate, I am sure, my intentions for the welfare of Ireland; for the total of which, if I were not very solicitous, I should ill discharge my duty as a member of this parliament.

I have much to regret, that my short stay in Dublin did not permit me to pay my respects to your lordship. Your permission, and a more favourable opportunity, will, I hope, indemnify me for that loss. I shall be extremely happy in knowing more perfectly a gentleman who has engaged my esteem and gratitude, by his general character, and by the private obligations he has done me the honour to confer upon me. I am, with the truest sentiments of esteem and regard,

My lord,

Your lordship's most obedient, and most  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

JAMES BARRY, ESQ., TO MESSRS. BURKE.

Rome, May 23, 1767.

DEAR SIRS,

Since I wrote last, I received a letter from both of you, and have, amongst other things, no small pleasure to find what you advise with respect to study, so perfectly agreeable to the process of the ancients. Those who executed the Laocoon and the Torso of the Belvedere, must have attended, very minutely indeed, to that close anatomical investigation you recommend to me. The deep knowledge of the ancients in anatomy, is, I think, as observable in the Apollo, Antinous, and the delicate characters, as it is in such whose flesh is of a more rigid and membranous texture; and the disappearing of the muscles, as the figure approaches to the delicate, is the consequence of as certain principles and observations, as their introduction would be in a figure of a different character. Many people have pointed out the absurdity of those who indiscriminately notch and score out all kind of characters into a mere myological map; falsely taking myology, which should be but a part in the painter's study of anatomy, for the whole of it. A myological figure is a character in nature which ought to be known and studied to the bottom. The Laocoon and fighting



Gladiator are of this character ; even independent of the muscular exertion and expression : but the Apollo, and that walk of character, is necessary to be known also ; where, of the very few muscles that remain, nothing is visible except the origins and insertions, just hinted ; whilst the bellies of the muscles united with the fat, &c., take one large, round, and flowing form.

The knowledge, freedom, and greatness of style in drawing is, I think, the only part of the character of Michael Angelo which has been well understood. It has been, and is every day, observed, that, notwithstanding the number of figures in his "Last Judgment," there is but one character of body placed in a vast diversity of attitudes, the model of which is said to have been his porter. To speak my private opinion, 'tis not so literally the case as 'tis imagined ; though I believe Michael Angelo might have intended it, in conformity to a prevailing opinion, that at the resurrection all bodies will be of the same age and character. There are several plump and youthful figures in the ceiling of the same chapel ; and his 'Bacchus,' his 'Dead Christ,' and other things, ought to make it very clear how successfully he could avoid a monotony of character, when it was his intention to avoid it.

I don't think the expressions of countenance, either in him or in Raffaello, indicate in a very clear and particular manner, the intentions and particular

state of mind of the person, to whom this countenance is given. They would, generally speaking, do as well for other figures, of intentions very different. This has appeared to me on seeing the Heliodorus, and the Transfiguration; and perhaps in the head of the father of the "Possessed Boy." In the Transfiguration, and in other heads, Domenichino, or Le Brun, would have made it an expression more peculiar to the situation of a person; more corresponding with the words, which may be naturally supposed to come from the figure on this occasion. You will now certainly stop me and observe, that the cartoons in England flatly contradict what I say. I confess it; and will also confess that, I think, besides these cartoons being almost the first sober examples of the way of treating an interesting history, they are, (even in the prints, which are only what I have seen,) without contradiction, beyond every thing here, in a just, proper, and interesting combination of expressions, all centering upon some one simple, obvious particular. I have not the least scruple about pronouncing the cartoons the best and most judicious of his works: though the elegance which Raffaello possesses, above all the moderns, does not come into these designs, as the expressions are strong and passionate, and the characters are mostly of that nature, where it was judicious in him to have omitted it.

I was, some time ago, at a conversation here, where were some artists, and English and other gentlemen. Amongst other talk, Mengs' copy after Raffaele (which is at Northumberland House) came on the tapis, and it was observed by one present (who, from the nature of his business and situation, is courted exceedingly by such artists as desire to make either money or friends here, as he and one or two more of the same interest and opinion are the only channels through which the acquaintance of English gentlemen come,) it was observed by him, as I said, that Mengs' copy was not well relished, at first, by the people at home; which was not to be wondered at, as it required some time to form the taste of a nation; and that he was sorry that Mengs was not in England, to teach, &c. I begged him to excuse me, if I took the liberty to observe that it looked a little oddly, to expect the introduction of good taste from a copy after Raffaele, by Mengs; if the cartoons, the best work of Raffaele, which were in England ever since the time of Charles I., were not able to effect it. As he is a man of great civility, I never would have thought of observing this, or any thing else in contradiction to what he said, if I had not seen clearly into the drift and tendency of his frequent hints of the incapacity of the people at home, and that a nod from him would set his dependents to tear up, and trample upon, every

thing we held sacred. Reynolds could not draw, his colouring was white—was blue—was red—was every thing that could damn him; he stole what he had, and he mangled what he stole. Barrett was nothing, could be nothing, the mushroom of a day, whose pictures, whenever people came to have any taste, would be hung up at Rag Fair. In short, Gainsborough's landscapes were nosegays, and West, who according to their letters was so much the fashion, afforded a convincing proof, that drawing was not sought after, and that a true idea of art was wanting, as nothing would go down but magics and mysteries.

You may judge how agreeable to me was this treatment of Reynolds, Barrett, Gainsborough, Stewart, the Exhibition, and all the artists. In the beginning I took it but for the effects of envy, jealousy, and what not, which sometimes infect the minds of artists, and thought it ought not to break any sociable ties between us; but I had no sooner attempted to excuse our people at home from the aspersions thrown upon them, and from the prepossessions which our travellers here were likely to get against them, but I was immediately pointed out as a person who, not coinciding with the designs of the dealers, might be dangerous in the company of English cavaliers; where it was necessary, every now and then, to run out into the praises of an indifferent antique head, with a



modern body, and legs cobbled to it, or of an old picture, which they christen in the name of this or that master, and which has seldom other merit than that, as nothing is visible in it, so nothing can be objected to. One remark I'll make, and it is grounded upon an infinite number of pictures which I have seen in the course of my rambles; 'tis, that time spoils pictures as well as other things, and that a century or two makes great confusion amongst the colours mixed on a wall or canvass; some decay sooner, others later; some grow dark, others light, and some change to one colour, some to another; and all taking different routes in their changes, the harmonious ties and relations between them are nearly lost, except to a man much practised in the mechanical using of colours, who, perhaps, may be able to guess from the way the colouring appears in now, how it might have appeared formerly. Learned invention, design where taste and correctness reign, are things, you know, not liable to change. This accounts why Raffaele is gaining ground in the world, though Titian may be losing it; and a philosopher, who is deeply conversant in the elegant arts, may be, and is certainly, the best judge of the antique and Raffaele, though he is very liable to be deceived in the colouring of a picture, which is changed from its original perfection, and was never perhaps remarkable for any thing but the colouring.

Here, then, is a great opportunity for cozening and imposition, as perfection is not the criterion; and things may not be very unlike in their decays, that were exceedingly so one hundred and fifty years ago, when some persons of as little merit as character, made copies and imitations of Titian and other good colourists.

It requires no proof that there are great numbers of ancient statues, and basso-relievos, little worthy of notice for any skill in the workmanship and designing. They have been only preserved because of some custom that they may serve to explain, some manner of dress, or some opinion of the ancients which they may elucidate. This may be, when they are entire, or great part so; but there are legs, and thighs, and feet, and heads, brought out of old houses, gardens, and other places, where they have mostly lain, unheeded, ever since the fifteenth century, where they were thrown away as soon as they were found, being wanting in every thing that could entitle them to a place in a repository. As the English have much money to lay out in *virtù*, and have, perhaps, greater passion for the ancients, than they have (generally speaking) judgment to distinguish amongst them, those into whose hands they fall here, and to whom their commissions are sent, take care to provide heads, with bodies and legs, and *vice versâ*; fragments of gods and

senators, are jumbled into the same figure of furies and graces, till it comes out a monster, like that which rose from the hide the three deities pissed into. There are instances, to be sure, of some one or two good things going over; but the multitude of those that are exceeding bad, (much below the work of any tolerable French or other modern artist,) make us the amazement and ridicule of all indifferent people. 'Tis pity to see our gentlemen, who come out of England with the best intentions, and with a national spirit, so duped, and made even instruments of dissension 'twixt the artists here. The antiquary and dealer are each provided with his set of puffers; and, in return, whatever gentleman falls into his hands, is taught to believe that, next to the old pictures and statues which they deal in, these are the only people for modern work, either here or at home; and a job of some trifling matter is suffered to fall now and then in their way. The rest, if they are heard of, 'tis to their disadvantage; but care is taken, that they shall be never seen.

Every one knows the necessity there is of a long succession of practice amongst any people desirous of meriting a character in the arts; and 'tis as visible that, if, in the time of Pericles, all places in Greece had been crowded with the works of other nations, it would be a secret to the world, whether or not the Greeks had any genius for the arts. This, I

take it, was the true reason why the Romans never succeeded; and why, perhaps, we may come short of the lengths we otherwise probably would go. There is one thing may hold up an appearance of art in England for fifty or sixty years longer; if the legislature was to consider that the vast number of pictures, &c., we have of the Italians, French, and Flemings, prove very sufficiently what they could do in art. It may be now time, before every crevice is filled, that the trials of our own people should be countenanced, which cannot be the case if importation of art goes on much farther.

I have wearied you and myself; but you will excuse it, as these things seemed to me to affect the very vitals of art. I would further add, that though, for the most part, intrigue and mercenary ways may be prevalent here, as the truth is never without a witness, there are a few who follow art for its own sake. These are as easily distinguished by their abilities as the others may be by the want of them. I am almost afraid even to send what I have wrote, as I always dread the resentment of base-spirited people, incapable, as I know, of an open, generous revenge. There are two sorts of people they are desirous of gaining over: such who are likely to be known to, or recommended to, the gentlemen who come hither; and others, whose understanding and conversation may be usefully employed to their purposes; and from the compli-



ments paid me in the beginning, it should appear they judged me in some measure proper for them. A very little time showed the contrary; for, on speaking civilly on the works of Reynolds, Barrett, Hamilton, and Nevi here, 'twas whispered that I spoke too much for a young man, and resolved, from that time, that I should have for the future but few opportunities of speaking in the company of English cavaliers, to whom it was necessary to convey opinions of another tendency. As we know each other, we are very quiet, and as sociable as I can be when we meet together, which is the course I shall take whilst I stay here. You will, I believe, think it prudent to keep this letter to yourself; as, should it be known that I laid such matters open, these people would be soon advised of it, and perhaps assassination may be the consequence.

I have just this instant received a letter from you, and am happy to find that there are no dangerous circumstances attending that unlucky accident<sup>7</sup>. I hope the leg is well by this time, and has lost nothing of its form, which was a good one. Thank God for it—no one is better stocked with good-humour, spirits, and good company to support his confinement, than our friend Mr. Richard: of all things, I would not wish him to stand upon his

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Burke's brother Richard had lately broken his leg.

leg too soon; as the—but 'tis ridiculous in me to advise about it; and though Dr. Nugent will laugh, and you will all laugh, you will all forgive me too.

'Twould be idle to say I rejoice at the strength of opposition, or at Mr. William's success, since whatever engages any of the family, my heart is surely engaged in it too.

I am sorry for the death of Mr. Sisson. 'Twas my intention, on my return home, to cultivate his friendship, as well as the friendship of all people that were agreeable to you. You will, I hope, be so kind as to continue your advice; at least, as often as you find leisure for it, and as it may be agreeable to you. You won't find it easy to make me believe that there is in it, as you say, more freedom and copiousness than judgment. You ought surely to be free with a man of your own making, and who has found in you brother, father, friend—every thing; and you cannot be too copious, since, before I had the happiness of knowing or seeing you, the principles of a certain work appeared to me (like what is related of the discourses of the Athenian philosopher with the artists of his time) to lead to, and point out, what must give the last hand to art.

As I mentioned in my former letter, I have been, since I came here, employed in seeing the different things, and studying the antique and

nature. As it is now necessary to keep much at home, the hot weather being come in, I have begun a picture which I intend for the exhibition. The subject is "Eve tempting Adam." It is also painted in the Lodge of Raffaello; but does not please me, as I think it designed in a manner that neither explains the story nor interests the spectator. Mr. Reynolds can show you a print of it. I know you would think my time better spent in copying and studying the antique, Michael Angelo, and Raffaello. I think so too; but the doing of some one thing of this kind appeared necessary, especially at this time; and there will be some useful study in two figures, which ought to be of absolute beauty, as I conceive it. By the time the heats are over, it will be near done, and I shall get out to copy.

On my arrival, I was obliged to draw about five pounds, to make up the hire of the chaise; and the buying a bed and other necessaries, will make the expense of the year about ten or twelve pounds more than the credit of forty pounds which I had. I apprehended this some time ago, and asked the clerk whether, if I wanted any more, he would give it me, which he agreed to. I went to him the day before yesterday to get ten pounds, at which he boggled, and said the credit was out, and that a fresh letter was necessary; but that, to oblige me, and so forth, he would let me have it.

I was told that nothing was done without a fee here, which I well knew before, and that to avoid his embarrassing and giving one trouble, 'twas necessary to give him half a guinea a year. There is nothing to be seen here, without giving about eighteen pence of our money; and as there are few who care to go to see, except they go with cavaliers, when it costs them nothing, so it has been a little expensive to me. There is no working at the Capella Sistina, the Vatican, the Capitol, or any palace, without giving at least five paols, which is half a crown, weekly. The ten pounds, which make fifty I have received here, will bring up this year very well; and I shall be very well able to do with forty pounds a year after, for the three years I intend staying here.

Talking of money and expenses, which I am sorry are so considerable, has, I confess, soured me not a little; so that I cannot write any more if I would, and shall close with presenting my best respects to all the family, to Mr. Maclean, to Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Barrett, and all friends; and

I remain, dear Sirs,

Your obliged and humble servant,

JAMES BARRY.

Hamilton has near finished a picture of the death of Lucrece. 'Tis in every respect his most capital work. When he is once known, he appears (at least, he did to me) as amiable in his



manners, as he is, unquestionably, very considerable for his talents in history. There is another in the history way here, Nevi, whose character I shall give you more at large hereafter; just telling you, by the way, that 'twill not be to his disadvantage either as a man or an artist.

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SIR WILLIAM MEREDITH<sup>8</sup> TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Henbury, June 26, 1767.

MY DEAR BURKE,

At my return from Liverpool I found your letter, for which I thank you most sincerely.

You are a caricature of St. Thomas, not to believe, till you saw, what I could do in an election. Sir George Warren was not quite so fortunate at Lancaster, though he took great pains and made great feasts; and, like Galba, sacrificing after he had lost the empire, "*fatigabat Deos alieni imperii.*"

Since I came home, I have been reading Sir Jas. Stuart's book<sup>9</sup>. You know the history of the man?

<sup>8</sup> Member for Liverpool, and at this time a lord of the admiralty, an office to which he was first appointed under Lord Rockingham's administration in 1765, and which he continued to hold under the succeeding and other administrations. In 1774, he was appointed comptroller of the household, and sworn of the privy-council.

<sup>9</sup> Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy.

He was in the rebellion, and brought home by Lord Bute. Colman's play, "*The English Merchant*," was written to grace his pardon. Indeed, I take him to be as worthy as Mr. Hume himself, of being admitted a disciple of the Bute academy; and dare say he will answer his kind patron's views in recalling him, by endeavouring to restore the principles and cause, though not the family, for the sake of which he was attainted. For, if I understand him right, his point is to reconcile us to the use of power such as no law can give, by attempting to prove, in various instances of economy, dissipation, luxury, increase and decrease of trade, dearness of provisions, &c. &c., how a nation may fall to ruin carelessly and irretrievably; and what infinite distress, of public and private nature, must continually happen unless the *statesman* interposes with *his* authority; which he describes as an authority that no fixed rules can establish, but must be enforced discretionally, as exigencies and occasions happen.

If you, or your brother, or your cousin, will but have the goodness to write me a line, on general-post days, how you all go on, it will be a mark of real benevolence to

Your faithful servant and friend,

W. MEREDITH.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND <sup>1</sup> TO EDMUND BURKE,  
ESQ.

Goodwood, July 5, 1767.

MY DEAR SIR,

As all real business must now be at an end, permit me to renew my solicitations to you, that you would throw away some of your time in favouring me with your company here. I believe I express myself ill (as I generally do) when I say *throw away your time*; for a man of your constant observation and attention to all sorts of things, can never be said to throw away his time. You must find in a country that is unknown to you, like this, something new and entertaining; and if you do but observe my follies, they may serve to make you laugh; or perhaps to make you admire me, for being able to divert myself with such trifles as I do. But I must say more, that I think you will feel great pleasure in obliging one who has so sincere a regard for you as I have. I shall, therefore, depend upon your coming. Let me hear from you a day or two before, that I may be sure

<sup>1</sup> Charles, third Duke of Richmond. He was secretary of state during the latter part of Lord Rockingham's administration, and went out of office with that nobleman, in July, 1766. His grace honoured Mr. Burke with his confidence and friendship for many years.

to be at home, though I do not see any likelihood of my leaving this place in the course of this month. Pray don't be scanty in your visit when you do come, and bring with you the notes I lent you. I hope Lord Rockingham is better than when I saw him last. Adieu, my dear sir.

I am ever, most sincerely,  
Your most obedient, humble servant,  
RICHMOND, &c.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Parson's Green, August 1, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

I hope you have by this time got over a little of your Yorkshire bustle, after escaping so much to your credit from the bustle of Westminster<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Burke here alludes to overtures for a union of parties, by the junction of the Marquis of Rockingham and the Duke of Bedford, with the Chatham and Grafton administration. The negotiations were broken off by Lord Rockingham's refusal to take office, unless with his whole party, and the appointment of a leader in the house of commons. He refused also to give any pledge, with respect to the conduct to be pursued towards the American colonies, where great dissatisfaction at the time prevailed. A pledge was required, as the condition of their support, by Lord Temple and Mr. George Grenville, who formed a third party in the opposition,



Your lordship's conduct has certainly been very honourable to yourself, and very pleasing to your friends. If we may judge from appearances, the consequences which have attended it are not very displeasing to your enemies. His majesty never was in better spirits. He has got a ministry weak and dependent; and, what is better, willing to continue so. They all think they have very handsomely discharged any engagements of honour they might have had to your lordship; and, to say the truth, seem not very miserable at being rid of you. They are certainly determined to hold with the present garrison, and to make the best agreement they can amongst themselves; for this purpose they are negotiating something with Charles Townshend<sup>3</sup>. Lord Bute is seldom a day out of town: I cannot find whether he confers directly and personally with the ministry, but am told he does I saw General Conway<sup>4</sup> a day or two after you

and were desirous of carrying matters with a strong hand in the provinces. The Rockingham party were desirous of conciliating, and had repealed the stamp-act in the preceding year; and from this policy they would not depart. Some of the Duke of Bedford's friends, however, soon after joined the ministry. His grace did not accept of any employment for himself.

<sup>3</sup> The Right Hon. Charles Townshend, at this time chancellor of the exchequer. He died in September of this year.

<sup>4</sup> General Conway, brother of Lord Hertford; he came into

left us. I never knew him talk in a more alert, firm, and decided tone. There was not the slightest trace of his usual diffidence and hesitation. He lamented your lordship's mistake in not coming into administration at this juncture. But, I declare, his conversation did, to me, more thoroughly justify your non-acceptance, than any thing I had heard, either from yourself or others, on that subject, as it laid open more clearly the ideas upon which they went in treating with you. Their plan, in short, was, that your lordship, with a few only of the chief of your friends, should take offices; and that the rest should wait those vacancies which death, and occasional arrangements, might make in a course of time. He dwelt much upon the advantages which had attended this method of proceeding, when Mr. Pitt acceded to the old administration in 1757. Though I felt indignation enough at this comparison of times and persons, I could hardly help laughing at the notion of providing for a party, upon a system which supposed the long and steady continuance of the same administration. I told him that your

office with the Marquis of Rockingham, in 1765, as secretary of state, and continued to hold his place after his lordship's resignation; serving under Lord Chatham and the Duke of Grafton until 1768, when he gave up the office of secretary of state, and accepted the military appointment of lieut.-general of the ordnance.

lordship's opinion of the duty of a leader of party was to take more care of his friends than of himself; and that the world greatly mistook you if they imagined that you would come in otherwise than in *corps*; and that after you had thought your own whole bottom too narrow, you would condescend to build your administration on a foundation still narrower; and give up (for that it would be) many of your own people, in order to establish your irreconcilable enemies in those situations which had formerly enabled, and would again enable them to distress, probably to destroy you. That, beyond this, he was not less fond of a system of extermination than you were. I said a great deal, and with as much freedom as consisted with carrying on the discourse in good humour, of the power and dispositions of the Bute party, the use they had made of their power in your time, and the formidable increase and full establishment of that power, which must be the necessary consequence of the part which our former friends in office seemed just now inclined to take. This discourse had no sort of effect. The Bute influence had lost all its terrors. An apprehension of Grenville's<sup>5</sup> coming in, was the ostensible objection to every thing. Much mode-

<sup>5</sup> The Right Hon. George Grenville, brother of Earl Temple, and first lord of the treasury from April, 1763, to July, 1765, when he gave way to the Marquis of Rockingham. He died in 1770.

ration towards the king's friends, and many apologies for every part of their conduct. In the end he said (I think, directly, but I am sure in effect), that as long as the Duke of Grafton<sup>6</sup> thought it for his honour to stay in, he could not resign. I have troubled you with this conversation, as it seemed to me very fully to indicate the true spirit of the ministry. I am quite satisfied that if ever the court had any real intention that your lordship should come in, it was merely to office, and not to administration; to lower your character, and entirely to disunite the party. This you have escaped. All of the party who are capable of judging, and supplied with materials for it, will rejoice in your escape; but there are some who feel anxious and uneasy, as if an opportunity of getting into power had missed upon mere points of delicacy. Lord Edgecumbe<sup>7</sup> wrote lately to Lord Besborough<sup>8</sup>: the Princess Amelia is down with him. He is frightened out of his wits: all his information comes from that quarter. Does not your lordship think, that a word from you to set the matter to rights, as to the rupture of both negotiations, might be useful with regard to him?

<sup>6</sup> Augustus Henry, third Duke of Grafton, then first lord of the treasury, which office his grace held until 1770. He was privy-seal in the Rockingham administration of 1782.

<sup>7</sup> Richard, Lord Edgecumbe, created, in 1789, Earl of Mount Edgecumbe.

<sup>8</sup> William, Earl of Besborough, father of the present earl.



He is wofully impatient. You see, my lord, that by giving you so free an account of my conversation with Conway, this letter is only for yourself. Lord John Cavendish<sup>9</sup> might, indeed, have given you the whole of it, as well as of his own; but I apprehend that he will have an opportunity of conveying this to your lordship, before he can see you. Be so good as to present my humble respects to my Lady Rockingham; and believe me, with the truest esteem and attachment,

My dear lord, ever yours,

E. BURKE.

Hopkins has the green cloth, Lowndes's brother the excise, and Bradshaw is secretary to the treasury. Wedderburne<sup>1</sup> is gone the north circuit: he told me he would wait on your lordship at Wentworth.

<sup>9</sup> Lord John Cavendish came into office as a junior lord of the treasury with the Rockingham administration, in 1765, and went out with his party in the following year. He came again into place with Lord Rockingham, in 1782, when he was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, which post he also filled in the coalition ministry. He was much admired and esteemed by Mr. Burke, who has left sketches of his character, in fragments, which are published in the sequel to these letters.

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Earl of Rosslyn, and lord high chancellor of England. He was raised to the peerage in 1780, as Baron Loughborough, on being appointed lord chief justice of the common pleas.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCK-  
INGHAM.

Parson's Green, August 18, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

I was just on the point of writing when I received your letter by Lord Albemarle<sup>2</sup>. I am glad he was with you at Wentworth, and that you had an opportunity of confirming him in the sentiments which so handsomely arose in his own breast, on the first representation of the late business. Upon my word, every thing I see of that family, increases my opinion (originally no small one) of their honour, spirit, and steadiness. I found the admiral<sup>3</sup> at Goodwood, and

<sup>2</sup> George, third Earl of Albemarle. He was a general officer, and obtained the blue ribbon in the Rockingham administration.

<sup>3</sup> The Hon. Augustus Keppel, brother to George, third Earl of Albemarle. This officer has been already mentioned, as appointed a lord of the admiralty under the Rockingham administration, in 1765. A very intimate friendship subsisted between him and Mr. Burke, who during the admiral's court-martial, in 1779, (which, it is well known, ended in his honourable acquittal,) never left his side. It appears in Burke's celebrated letter to the Duke of Bedford, (published in 1795,) that Richard Burke, then very young, attended and assisted his father, at Portsmouth, during the admiral's trial. No correspondence relating to it has been found among the papers.

came to town with him. He is very right, and the more laudably so, as he is not without a strong feeling of the inconveniences attending a protracted opposition from the craving demands of friends and dependents, who will very little enter into the motives to a conduct which stands between them and all their wants and expectations. He had a good deal of talk with the Duke of Richmond, and I had some. I saw in him many signs of uneasiness, but none of wavering. His grace cannot be persuaded of the propriety of not accepting the late offers, or, at least, of not having gone further than you did, so as to put all the ministers in the wrong, by driving them to avow more of a closet system, than they would willingly profess to the world. There was great good opinion (amounting to veneration) of your lordship, much satisfaction in the principles of the party, but still a leaning to Conway, and a dislike to the Grenvilles, which operate powerfully towards the doctrine of acceptance. He fears that the corps which will neither unite with the other squadrons in opposition, nor accept the offers made by administration, must, in the nature of things, be dissolved very speedily, and perhaps not very reputably, as being, to appearance, destitute of any thing like a certain object. I combated this opinion in the best manner I could. The duke said nothing to me of the part he should

take in the next session. I did not, indeed, at all lead the conversation that way, thinking the ground delicate, and that, in matters of this sort, men are more safely trusted to the natural operation of things, as they strike their own minds, than to any engagements. Keppel went further, and to him he was more explicit. He seemed greatly at a loss for what you meant to pursue ; but was extremely willing to take a warm and vigorous part with your lordship, in case you could come to settle some distinct plan of political and parliamentary conduct. Keppel has no doubt of him ; I have as little hesitation about his honour, but he has an anxious, busy mind. Work must be cut out for him, or he will not be satisfied easily. If this be done, I am persuaded he will be faithful and resolute ; and I am sure he is an essential part of the strength of your body. The admiral joins in my opinion of the necessity of your lordship's writing to him, once or twice, during the recess : some attentions of this sort will be expedient to continue him in affection to the cause, and to counterbalance the influence of Lord Holland, always the king's friend, and of General Conway, newly adopted into that corps, and probably with all the zeal of a new convert. It is no reflection on his grace to suppose that, in some way or other, these influences so natural, and in some respects so little blamable, should have their weight.



I beg pardon, for having run on so long upon this topic. When I know Mr. Dowdeswell's <sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The Right Hon. William Dowdeswell, member of parliament for Worcestershire, a privy-counsellor, and chancellor of the exchequer during the Rockingham administration of 1765-6. He was afterwards considered the leader of the Rockingham party in the house of commons. Between him and Mr. Burke there subsisted a close intimacy, only terminated by the early death of the former, in 1775. The epitaph on his monument in Bushley church is from the pen of Burke, and, as it is not given in any of the preceding volumes of his works, is here inserted.

"To the memory of William Dowdeswell: representative in parliament for the county of Worcester, chancellor of the exchequer in the years 1765 and 1766, and a member of the king's privy-council: a senator for twenty years; a minister for one; a virtuous citizen for his whole life; a man of unshaken constancy, inflexible integrity, unremitting industry.

"His mind was open, generous, sincere; his manners plain, simple, and noble; rejecting all sorts of duplicity and disguise, as useless to his designs and odious to his nature.

"His understanding was comprehensive, steady, vigorous—made for the practical business of the state. In debate he was clear, natural, and convincing. His knowledge, in all things which concerned his duty, profound. He understood, beyond any man of his time, the revenues of his country, which he preferred to every thing—except its liberties.

"He was a perfect master of the law of parliament; and attached to its privileges, until they were set up against the rights of the people.

"All the proceedings which have weakened government, endangered freedom, and distracted the British empire, were by him strenuously opposed; and his last efforts, under which

time, I will obey your lordship's commands without delay. Of the Grenvilles I hear nothing. In spite of themselves, they are compelled for a while to be quiet, and to play no tricks. Conway is gone fairly to the devil. Lord Frederick Campbell is secretary to the lord lieutenant. This is Conway's job. Conway is also to have Lord Townshend's ordnance; but for the present, I hear, declines the salary. I hear too, that Pynsent<sup>5</sup> is to be sold; but I don't know who the purchaser is. The Duke of Newcastle<sup>6</sup>

his health sunk, were to preserve his country from a civil war, which, being unable to prevent, he had not the misfortune to see.

"He was not more respectable on the public scene, than amiable in private life. Immersed in the greatest affairs, he never lost the ancient, native, genuine English character of a country gentleman.

"Disdaining and neglecting no office in life, he was an ancient municipal magistrate; with great care and clear judgment administering justice, maintaining the police, relieving the distresses, and regulating the manners, of the people in his neighbourhood.

"An husband and father—the kindest, gentlest, most indulgent: he was every thing in his family, except what he gave up to his country.

"His widow, who labours with life in order to form the minds of his eleven children to the resemblance of their father, erects this monument."

<sup>5</sup> Burton Pynsent, in Somersetshire, the seat of the Earl of Chatham.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Holles Pelham, Duke of Newcastle, whose poli-

grumbles as usual. There is one point in which I incline to join with him,—that of elections. Surely, if there be, as there are, monied men in the party, they ought not to let the venal boroughs get engaged in the manner they are likely to be. Adieu, my dear lord ; you will be so good as to forgive this tedious letter, to present my humble respects to my Lady Rockingham, and to believe me, with the greatest esteem and affection, ever your lordship's most obliged, and most obedient humble servant,

E. BURKE.

Lord Chesterfield <sup>7</sup> has been ill, and dangerously so ; but I am told is recovering. If he should die this time, the county of Buckingham would become suddenly vacant. Lord Verney <sup>8</sup>, on

tical career is too generally known to require any mention here. His grace was privy-seal in the Rockingham administration of 1765, and on being informed that Mr. Edmund Burke was to be appointed private secretary to the marquis, is said to have cautioned that nobleman against employing confidentially a man brought up at a Jesuit's college at St. Omer's, and suspected of being a Jacobite. The marquis related this conversation to Mr. Burke, when the absolute falsehood of every particular of the report being soon satisfactorily established, the duke, for the remainder of his life, treated him with distinguished respect and regard.

<sup>7</sup> The celebrated Philip, fourth Earl of Chesterfield. His lordship died on the 24th April, 1773, in the 79th year of his age.

<sup>8</sup> Lord Verney has been already mentioned, as having,

this idea, desires to know what your wishes on this subject would be, and in what way his interest (always at the service of the cause) may be useful.

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THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Claremont, August 30, 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I must repeat my thanks to you for your very kind visit yesterday, and for the very friendly and confidential manner with which we talked to each other upon very important and delicate points. I find I shall not be able to finish my letter, so as to send it by you to-morrow to my Lord Rockingham. I will endeavour to do it as soon as I can to my own satisfaction. But as you know, in general, my thoughts, and, I am persuaded, will represent them to my Lord Rockingham, in the very sincere and affectionate manner in which they were meant, the delay of my answer, for a few days, will be of no consequence.

through his influence in the borough of Wendover, brought Mr. Burke into parliament, in December, 1765, a favour which he repeated at the general election in 1768. His lordship was an Irish peer, possessing large estates in Buckinghamshire, for which county he was elected in the parliaments of 1768, 1774, and 1780. He was, at this time, member for Carmarthen.



I must beg that you would be so good as to let me know, if there will be soon any safe conveyance to Wentworth; or what you would advise me to do, when my letter is finished.

My Lord Albemarle dined with me yesterday; to whom I read the outlines of this unfinished letter; and had the pleasure to find that he entirely approves it, as agreeable to his own sentiments. I propose to send my Lord Rockingham a copy of my Lord Albemarle's letter to me, (with his lordship's consent,) giving an account of his conversation the other day with Mr. Rigby<sup>1</sup>; in which Rigby asked my Lord Albemarle, as from himself, "whether the marquis was clear of Mr. Conway, and all connexion with the present administration?" to which Lord Albemarle said, "that he could not give a positive answer," but did venture to say to Mr. Rigby "*that he hoped he was*;"—and my Lord Albemarle adds, in this letter to me, "it will be very necessary to have that point thoroughly known, *before any steps can be taken towards the renewal of the negotiation with the Duke of Bedford and his friends.*" I shall send Lord Albe-

<sup>1</sup> The Right Hon. Richard Rigby, a member of the house of commons, attached to the party of which the Duke of Bedford was acknowledged the head. He was appointed a vice-treasurer of Ireland, in January, 1768, and in the June following, paymaster of the forces.

marle's letter to me to Lord Rockingham; and I thought it might not be amiss to give you this account of it.

The Duchess of Newcastle, who (I thank God) is greatly mended in her health, in every respect, desires her compliments to you; and we both beg the favour of you, to make our best and most affectionate compliments to my Lord and Lady Rockingham, accompanied with our most sincere wishes of health, happiness, and satisfaction to them. I am, with great truth and respect, dear Sir, your very affectionate friend, and obedient humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

P.S. A note sent to my house to-morrow morning, or this evening, in town, will be brought to me safely to-morrow, before dinner.

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THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO EDMUND  
BURKE, ESQ.

Wentworth, Monday morning, August 31, 1767.

DEAR BURKE,

I had a letter from Lord Albemarle on Saturday night, which gives me much concern and uneasiness. It contained an unpleasing account of his health; or, indeed, I should rather say, an

alarming account. He proposes to try Bath, and seems fixed upon trying another climate for winter. I have strong hopes that with a steady attention to his health, he may still get the better; but I fear, from the attention he now is inclined to give, that it is a proof that he feels himself very ill. The other parts of his letter, are full of that kind and warm friendship towards me, which, in the present moment, only aggravates my feelings.

I have sent, by this conveyance, two letters to him. The one was wrote some days ago, previous to my knowing of his relapse, and is chiefly on political matters; the other is a private letter on himself. Possibly, if he is not gone to Bath, he may show you the first letter. There is in it one matter, I think, of importance; it is in regard to what, I imagine, the Political Register's account will be, of the late negotiation.

Some weeks ago a *friend* conveyed to me a copy of what *Almon* proposed to publish. If what is published is according to the sketch I have seen, I think it is a capital performance in regard to insidious perversion and misrepresentation of facts, and equally indecent and injurious. I rather chose to say little about it, before publication; but as it will be in print (if not altered) now, I have sent for it, and wish you would look it over.

The conduct upon it will be necessary for our friends' consideration. The school it must come from, will appear at first sight. If Lord Albemarle is gone to Bath, I wish you would converse with Admiral Keppel upon the account; if, after you have got it, it strikes you as it does me, I think it will raise many of our friends' indignation; and that consideration makes me cautious of saying any thing about the sketch I had seen; lest the hearing that *we* were warm, might occasion the author or authors to suppress or lower the venom; and my imagination carries me so far, that I think the D—— of B——<sup>2</sup> and his friends would even agree with me and us, in thinking and declaring, that the publication is a most infamous and scandalous proceeding.

Lord Albemarle writes me word, that he shall send me a cargo of politics by you, which makes me hope I shall soon have the pleasure and satisfaction of seeing you.

Lady Rockingham has sprained her foot with

<sup>2</sup> The Duke of Bedford, who has been already mentioned as one of the parties by whose union with the Duke of Grafton his majesty hoped to form a strong administration. Lord Rockingham, in a letter to Mr. Dowdeswell, styles the account of these negotiations, published by Almon, to which he here refers, malicious, indecent, false, and scandalous. The real cause of the failure of the negotiation is given in a former note.



walking; but is otherwise very well. I am in very tolerable health; and ever, dear Burke, with the greatest truth and regard,

Your most obedient servant and friend,

ROCKINGHAM.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Wednesday, March 9, 1768.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have seen the Duke of Newcastle this morning. I told him that I proposed to write to your lordship. After asking whether the conveyance was very safe, and binding me to the strictest secrecy, his grace told me that he had had lately a very satisfactory conversation with Lord Mansfield<sup>3</sup>, in which he spoke very warmly of your lordship, and in his expressions came up very near his grace's own ideas with regard to you. He further gave the fullest assurances, that he had no sort of connexion with the present administration. I know not why I should trouble your lordship with this important information. That Lord Mansfield is not connected with the present ministry, we all know; that he should speak favourably of your lordship is no miracle. If, indeed, he spoke

<sup>3</sup> Lord chief justice of the king's bench.

of the necessity of giving your system and your party the lead in affairs, then, indeed, he would say something to the purpose; and what I should think well worth sending an express an hundred and sixty miles to acquaint you with. I must, however, do his grace the justice to say, that he spoke of your lordship with great affection, told me, that he had acquitted himself, and with good prospect of success, of all the commissions you had given him; and that he wished to devolve upon your lordship all the consequence, credit, and influence that he had in the world. Rigby and I had joined in a request for bringing a friend in Ireland into parliament, with which he very obligingly complied; but as they got to complimenting each other on the wonderful good that must have arisen, if their ideas had been followed in the negotiation of last summer, I am afraid I said somewhat a little *brusque*, for which I am sorry. However, it was not a great deal; and I am to see him to-morrow, and will smooth down the feathers. Besides, the first letter from your lordship will set all to rights again. I wish it may be early and kind; for, to say the truth, he is exerting himself, and told me he had attended to Maidstone. I think him rather lower than when I saw him before. Lady Rockingham tells me the duchess is very ill.

Of Gregory I have heard not much. Lord

Winchelsea says that things look promising. I have nothing further to trouble you with. We wait with impatience to hear about York.

I am, with the truest affection and attachment,

My dear lord,

Your ever obliged and obedient servant,

EDM. BURKE.

My Lady Rockingham desires that I may not smooth down the feathers, because it was but a very gentle breeze, that could hardly discompose them. Her ladyship thinks, too, that by the duke mentioning nothing about the duchess's health, it can hardly be so bad as she suspected. Mr. Frankland, Mrs. Pelham's father, is dead.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

Gregories, near Beaconsfield, May 1, 1768.

MY DEAR SHACKLETON,

I thank you heartily for your letter, and even for the reproaches which it contains. They are, when of that kind, very sure, and not the most unpleasant, indications of a real affection. Indeed, my neglect of writing is by no means justifiable, and does not stand well in my own opinion; but I am sorry to say it, I have never been quite correct and finished in my style of life; and I fear

I never shall. However, if I keep the principal parts tolerably right, I shall, I hope, meet pardon, if not something more, from such friends as it is the great blessing of my life to have had, in every stage of it. As to the neglects of one who is but too much my brother, I have nothing to say for him. He may write himself, if he pleases; and he has nothing to prevent him but too much idleness, which I have observed fills up a man's time much more completely, and leaves him less his own master, than any sort of employment whatsoever.

I am much obliged to Mr. Beauchamp for his kind opinion of me, and to your partial representations as the cause of it. I am willing to do my best to forward Dr. Dunkin's subscription. You may easily believe that your wishing well to it, will be sufficient to engage my endeavours (as far as they can go) without any further inducement. But Dunkin deserved some rank among the poets of our time and country; and I agree with you in thinking his son an ingenious and worthy man. I cannot, I fear, do a great deal. I am always ready to subscribe myself, and, perhaps, in general, too ready to put forward subscriptions, which weakens my interest when I want to use it on some extraordinary occasions. I don't say this as in the least declining the business you recommended, for I will certainly do all I can.



I know your kindness makes you wish, now and then, to hear of my situation. As to myself, I am, by the very singular kindness of some friends, in a way very agreeable to me. Again elected on the same interest <sup>4</sup>, I have made a push, with all I could collect of my own, and the aid of my friends, to cast a little root in this country. I have purchased a house, with an estate of about six hundred acres of land, in Buckinghamshire, twenty-four miles from London, where I now am <sup>5</sup>. It is

<sup>4</sup> In the parliament which met on the 10th May, 1768, Mr. Burke was again returned for Wendover, through the interest of Lord Verney.

<sup>5</sup> This place, called Gregories in the more ancient deeds, and Gregories or Butler's Court in some of later date, continued from this time in the family of Burke, until the death of his widow, in 1812. It is situated about a mile from Beaconsfield, a market and post town in Buckinghamshire, twenty-three miles from London. Upon his first residing there, Burke dated his letters from Gregories, but soon after, probably to avoid the necessity of giving the name of the post town, in addition to that of the house, he dated from Beaconsfield; and continued to do so to the end of his life, but latterly spelling it Beconsfield. A considerable portion of the estate was wood-land, and there was a detached farm; but, surrounding the house, which was large and handsome, there was a considerable extent of arable and pasture land, which Burke delighted to cultivate, seeking in that occupation the most agreeable relaxation from the toils and vexations of politics. Some of his letters to the celebrated agriculturist, Arthur

a place exceedingly pleasant; and I propose (God willing) to become a farmer in good earnest. You, who are classical, will not be displeased to hear that it was formerly the seat of Waller the poet, whose house, or part of it, makes at present the farm-house within an hundred yards of me. When

Young, given in this collection, show with what earnestness Burke entered into the details of his farm. The proximity of this place to London rendered it the easy resort of the most distinguished characters of the time, who sought Burke's society or advice. Here, also, he received with the greatest hospitality and attention, the numerous foreigners who desired his acquaintance. It was his greatest pleasure to accompany these strangers to the most beautiful places of this beautiful country, and especially to Windsor, which he had great pride in showing, as a residence worthy of British kings. When the French revolution drove a large portion of the nobility and clergy of France to England, Burke's house received many of the most distinguished, during any length of time they chose to remain; and for some, he procured lodgings in the town of Beaconsfield, requesting them to use his table as their own.

Some years after her husband's death, Mrs. Burke sold the estate to Mr. Dupré, of Wilton Park, near Beaconsfield; reserving the occupation of the house, gardens, and some of the grass land of Gregories, for her life. On her death, in 1812, this portion of the property came into Mr. Dupré's hands. He let the house soon after to Mr. Jones, a clergyman, who kept a school there. On the 23rd of April, 1813, it was burned to the ground. The land is now laid out in farms, and hardly a trace remains, by which the residence of Burke can be distinguished.

you take a journey to England, you are obliged, by tenure, to come and pay due homage to the capital seat of your once favourite poet.

I am glad to find my venerable old friend, your father, still preserves his health, and the even tenor of his mind. At her age, no friend could have hoped for your mother any thing but the Euthanasia ; and in such circumstances, it must have been a great comfort to you that she had it so perfectly.

Mrs. Burke preserves an affectionate and grateful memory of Mrs. Shackleton's kindness to her when she was in Ireland, and joins us all in the heartiest salutations to you both.

Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me

most sincerely yours,

E. BURKE.

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DAVID GARRICK, ESQ.<sup>6</sup>, TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Hampton, June 17, 1768.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

If you had a house in the fens of Lincolnshire, or on the swamps of Essex, where you were obliged to drink brandy by way of small beer, to keep the

<sup>6</sup> The celebrated actor, with whom Burke had long been on intimate terms.

ague out of your bones, I should long to be with you; but hearing what a sweet place you have, with every thing right about you, I am with twins till I am well delivered at Gregories; but I reserve you for a *bonne bouche*, my good friend, and will certainly not touch your mutton and poultry till I have revelled at Mistley<sup>7</sup>. I have not a day to spare till I set out for the paymaster's. I propose going to town on Monday, not to return till that annual visit is paid. I am told my righteous neighbour is very much disturbed in mind at Rigby's promotion. Gregories, and the pay-office, are too much for his digestion, and it is hard to say which of the two masters of those two places he hates the most.

You may depend upon seeing my mahogany countenance at my return. Madam will rejoice with me to pay her respects to Mrs. Burke, and we will be as happy as the day is long; and then some small wit shall be exercised, to draw you and yours to our sweet little (I am mad about it) enchanting place. I thank our dear brother Richard for his writing a few lines to me in your letter. I don't know so sweet a youth, nor one to whom I have more cordial attachment, in spite of his infidelity.

<sup>7</sup> Mistley Hall, in Essex, the seat of the Right Hon. Rd. Rigby, who was remarkable for keeping a good table. He had just been appointed paymaster of the forces.



Pray give me a line directed to my house, Covent Garden, in a post or two, and let me know when you go into Yorkshire; or, rather, when I shall be sure to find you all at Gregories.

I endeavoured to get clear of Mistletoe this year, but I have sent you the answer. Return it to me in the note you'll send by Saturday's post.

Most affectionately yours,

My dear Burke,

D. GARRICK.

P.S. Mr. Tommy Townshend, your friend, I hear is wofully angry at Rigby's preferment. I dined lately with Lord H——x: we had great talk about your quondam friend, and mine. He knows him to the marrow of him. How will the malignant spirit (I can't read the name you give him in your letter) determine to do with himself in the Northampton election? Poor Lady Hinchinbroke will be soon dead—she is in a deep consumption. Adieu!

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Gregories, July 18, 1768.

MY DEAR LORD,

I intended to have written by the Duke of Portland<sup>8</sup>, who was so kind as to spend a part of a day with us, but I am afraid I shall not be able to avail myself of the opportunity. Some company came upon me after his grace's departure, who have taken up my time, so that I fear he will be set out for the north, before I can send this to him. Indeed, I have little worth your hearing to communicate. Such accounts as I picked up

<sup>8</sup> William Henry, third Duke of Portland, whose distinguished friendship Mr. Burke had the happiness to obtain at an early period of his public life, and to preserve to his last hour, and which he returned with feelings of the highest respect and affection. The vicinity of Beaconsfield to Bulstrode, where the duke generally passed a considerable part of the year, led to the frequent intercourse of their families, and established a cordial attachment between the several members of both. His grace was appointed lord chamberlain in the Rockingham administration of 1765, and lord lieutenant of Ireland in that of 1782. On the death of the marquis he was considered the leader of the whig party. In 1794, his grace joined Mr. Pitt's administration, with other whig noblemen and gentlemen, and received the seals of the home department. He became first lord of the treasury in 1807, and died in 1809.

when I was last in town, will rather serve as an excuse for my troubling your lordship, than at all contribute to your information concerning the present posture of things. Lord Shelburne still continues in administration, though as adverse and as much disliked as ever<sup>1</sup>. The minister for Turin is not yet declared. I hear it said, and I believe with truth, that his majesty declined having any thing to do with the decision of this business, but recommended them to settle it among themselves, as well as they could. This does not seem to be much out of character; nor is it, I think, the most favourable symptom in the world to the power of the Duke of Grafton, who continues, as I hear, his old complaints of his situation, and his genuine desire of holding it as long as he can. At the same time, Lord Shelburne gets loose too. I know that Lord Camden<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> William Petty, second Earl of Shelburne, and first Marquis of Lansdowne. He entered into political life in 1761, and was for a short time, in 1763, at the head of the board of trade. His lordship subsequently filled different important offices of the government, and was at this time, July, 1768, one of the principal secretaries of state, but resigned the October following. The nomination of a minister to Turin, referred to in this letter, was regularly in Lord Shelburne's department, but was disputed by the Duke of Grafton, who succeeded in appointing Mr. Lynch to that court in September of this year.

<sup>2</sup> At this time lord chancellor, to which office he was ap-

who adhered to him in these late divisions, has given him up, and gone over to the Duke of Grafton. The Bedfords are horribly frightened at all this, for fear of seeing the table they had so well covered, and at which they sat down with so good an appetite, kicked down in the scuffle. They advised that things should not be brought to extremities. They find things not ripe, at present, for bringing in Grenville; and that any capital remove just now, would only betray their weakness in the closet and in the nation. Will. Burke met Dr. Hay: they had a great deal of very serious conversation, not to say earnest and eager, on the part of the doctor. I mention it, rather to show the disposition of that faction, and the tone of their politics, than because I am sure it was meant as an opening to any future negotiation. Hay expressed a great desire of seeing you in government, upon proper terms, with the Bedfords; lamented the exclusive and proscriptive spirit of your party, which he feared would make such an union difficult; and said, that if it were not your own fault, it would be extremely easy to form a strong and permanent system. George Grenville was mentioned as a very proper matter of consideration, but he did not insist over much on that point; did not know why it should be an pointed on the formation of Lord Chatham's administration, in July, 1766.



indispensable condition that your lordship should be at the head of the treasury; and why some other great situation, with a fair proportion of power, might not answer the purpose as well; that if Grenville was particularly exceptionable, another middle person might have the treasury: who was that middle person? They had him in their eye, but would not name him before they knew that the general proposition would be accepted. He spoke of the ministry as a strange incoherent composition, that certainly would not stand. This he considered as a matter beyond dispute. On W. Burke's relating this conversation to me, I fancy their middle man to be the same they had in their thoughts this time twelve-month—Lord Gower<sup>4</sup>, for they spoke much the same language, however ill the epithet of middleman agreed with their idea. But on talking with Fitzherbert, on a certain rap of the knuckles which the Butes had given to the Bedfords, he said he wondered at it, because he knew that their style was to talk very civilly of the Butes, and even to go so far as to name the Duke of Northumberland<sup>5</sup> as a proper person for the

<sup>4</sup> One of the Duke of Bedford's party, who had joined the Chatham and Grafton administration in the last year, 1767; being appointed president of the council, which office he still held.

<sup>5</sup> Hugh, first Duke of Northumberland; having been raised to the dukedom at the recommendation of Lord Chatham

treasury, in case of the Duke of Grafton going out. This seems, if true, to let in a little light upon Hay's system. Will. Burke told him, that he did not conceive what man they could name so worthy as your lordship, of the joint confidence of parties, who had never been known to deceive any party or any individual, or who to conduct government better, from the confidence which the whole mercantile interest had in you; besides the large and respectable following of individuals. The junction they seemed to wish, he said, had been in their own power last year, but that they were too hungry to accept it; that it would, among others, have brought them this advantage, it would have acquired them a little character. The truth is, the Bedfords will never act any part, either fair or amicable, with your lordship or your friends, until they see you in a situation to give the law to them; and all attempts towards it, before that time, will be not only useless but dangerous. I have plagued you a good deal with political chat, which you have, so far as it is authentic, probably received already in a much better manner.

\* \* \* \* \*

We have had incessant rains. My clover is

and the Duke of Grafton, in 1766. His grace had been lord lieutenant of Ireland, as Earl of Northumberland, in 1763.

got in, in a tolerable manner, but at a heavy expense. About fourteen or fifteen acres of natural grass are down already, under a deluge of rain. The farmers here apprehend a poor harvest, as the corn has suffered a good deal whilst in the flower. I have just got an account from my friend in Ireland, that the bull will be exceedingly acceptable. At the same time that I return my thanks for him, I must entreat your lordship to order him to be sent to Mr. Felix Doran, a merchant and a friend at Liverpool, who will transmit him to Dublin.

Your lordship will be so good as to present my respects to Lady Rockingham ; and to believe me, with the most sincere attachment,

My dear lord,

Your most affectionate and obedient  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

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LORD CHARLEMONT <sup>6</sup>, TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Dublin, May 19, 1769.

It cannot be necessary that I should endeavour to explain to my dear Burke, how very much his

<sup>6</sup> James, fourth Viscount, and first Earl of Charlemont, an Irish nobleman, well known for his patriotism and many virtues, and for the part he took when in command of the Irish

letter has obliged me. Your goodness in finding time, at a period of so much hurry and business, to give an absent friend the pleasure of hearing from you, and the satisfaction of being thoroughly informed in an event of so interesting a nature, deserves more thanks than I have leisure to express, or you to receive. Had you barely performed your promise, by sending me the numbers alone, I ought to have been entirely satisfied ; but you are too well acquainted with the duties of friendship, not to be sensible that a bare performance between friends is scarcely sufficient ; and of this I was so well apprised, and so thoroughly persuaded, that, however unreasonable it may appear, I had the assurance to expect from you no-

volunteers, in 1780, and during the critical struggle for the legislative independence of Ireland. Mr. Burke had made his lordship's acquaintance, at least as early as the year 1759, as his connexion with Mr. Gerard Hamilton, about that time, is said to have had its origin in Lord Charlemont's introduction. The event to which his lordship alludes in this letter, is the division in the house of commons on the 8th of May, 1769, upon a petition of the freeholders of Middlesex against the resolution of the house directing the name of Mr. Wilkes to be struck out of the return for Middlesex, and that of Colonel Luttrell to be inserted. The resolution was confirmed by a majority of 221 against 152. The minority was considered so large as to merit celebration at a great dinner at the Thatched-House Tavern the ensuing day, got up for the purpose of promoting union between the several parties then in opposition to government.



thing less than the full information which you sent me. Your subsequent meeting appears to me a matter of the greatest importance; and though I must rejoice in some consequences which will probably attend it, yet I will candidly confess that I would rather those good consequences were produced from any other cause, than from an union which appears to me unnatural, and of which I can never cordially approve. You are well acquainted with my antipathies—perhaps you may call them prejudices; but, be that as it may, I do not think that I should have eat my mutton at the Thatched House with so good an appetite as usual, though the society was increased by the addition of the hero of the Observations<sup>7</sup>. I do, however, believe that this accession is, in one sense, of the highest importance, and will rest persuaded that the manners of my friends are such as to be proof against evil communications.

Matters here are in a situation whimsical enough, and what the event will be it is not easy to guess. The arrival of our plenipotentiary<sup>8</sup>, who is expected

<sup>7</sup> Mr. George Grenville, between whose party and that of Lord Rockingham, a junction was thought to be in contemplation. Mr. Grenville was the author of a pamphlet entitled “The Present State of the Nation,” to which Burke replied in his well-known “Observations.”

<sup>8</sup> Sir George Macartney, who succeeded Lord F. Cavendish as secretary to Lord Townshend.

in the beginning of June, will probably throw some light on our hitherto obscure politics. If he should come armed with delegated thunder, to hurl down *aut Atho aut Rhodopen*, he had better take care lest he should be crushed in their fall; unless, which, on the other hand, is not impossible, our mountains should happen to produce a mouse. Patriotism, the only plant to which sunshine is always destructive, is likely to flourish, and to spread far and wide under the gloom of ministerial frowns. Yet how very little is its duration to be depended upon, since we may be certain that the very first gleam of court sunshine will destroy and kill it to the very roots! But to quit figures, in which I fear that I make but a bad figure, you are well acquainted with the characters of those men, who are likely to be our new patriots; and can easily conceive that an association with such converts, is not extremely desirable to those whose principles are of a more fixed and permanent nature. You are now, I suppose, settled in your delightful summer's retreat, where you are enjoying the relaxation which you have earned and purchased, perhaps not too dearly, by your constant and disagreeable application during last winter. The noxious steams of St. Stephen's are changed for the pure air of Gregories. Oratory yields to table-talk, and a bad pun now takes place of all other figures of speech. In short, you are as happy as

ease can make you after hard labour; but not a whit more happy than you are sincerely wished to be by, my dear Burke,

Your most faithful and affectionate  
humble servant,

CHARLEMONT.

Present my very best respects to Mrs. Burke, and my affectionate compliments to Will. and to Dick. Remember me also warmly to my dear Lord Rockingham, for whom I have, and ever shall have, the most sincere and warm attachment and friendship. My most respectful compliments to my lady also; and tell her that we do not so much excel here in making white gloves, as we do in the yellow, but that I hope, however, to execute the commission with which she has honoured me to my own satisfaction, as I shall spare no pains in procuring the best that can be had of the kind. To avoid the impertinence of a post office, I take the opportunity of sending this by a private hand.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Gregories, Sunday night, half after 10,  
July 2, 1769.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am beyond expression obliged to your lordship for your very full, very satisfactory, and very friendly letter, which I found at home on my return from my evening walk. I wish, indeed, that so great a pleasure to me had been purchased at the expense of less fatigue to yourself, for I know and feel what an irksome task the writing of long letters is; and there was nothing I was so much surprised at, in the late Duke of Newcastle, as that immense and almost incredible ease, with which he was able to dispatch such an infinite number of letters. That employment seemed to be a sort of recreation to him. I am glad that your lordship's recreation at Harrowden was of another kind. I am sure it must be extremely serviceable, as well as delightful to you, to have enjoyed that interval of ease between the hurry of London and the hurry of Yorkshire; and it was extremely well thought on, to cut this moment of perfect tranquillity out of your busy life. I really think such moments ought to be caught and improved as often as possible.



I am very glad to find that something is to be done in Yorkshire relative to the late determination<sup>9</sup>. I am quite pleased with your lordship's plan for the instructions in every particular, provided instructions (or thanks, which are tantamount but more respectful,) should be the mode proposed. But I confess I am, when the objects are well chosen, rather more fond of the method of petition, because it carries more the air of uniformity and concurrence; and, being more out of the common road, and yet, I apprehend, constitutional enough, it will be more striking and more suitable to the magnitude of the occasion. There is a further reason which weighs with me even more

<sup>9</sup> The rejection of Wilkes, and return of Luttrell, for Middlesex, by the house of commons. Mr. Burke discusses the mode in which the people might best express their complaint of this proceeding, whether by instructions to their representatives, touching the course they were to pursue in parliament, or by thanks to those who had already taken that which the people approved, or by petition to the throne.

On the 14th of this month, the high-sheriff and grand-jury of the county of York, addressed a letter to their representatives in parliament, approving of their conduct in opposing the late decisions of the house of commons, touching the right of election; and in the course of the summer and autumn of this year, several counties in England petitioned the king for redress of grievances, and particularly of that violation of the rights of the freeholders, consequent on the last election for Middlesex. These petitions are referred to in some of the following letters.

than the former. I observe, that the court cares very little what becomes of the people in ministerial situations, whether they are odious or not, or whether they get through their business easily and gracefully, or struggle with the most embarrassing and scandalous difficulties. What they suffer makes no impression; but I observe them to be much alarmed with whatever is brought directly into the king's presence. Nothing can tend more to bring the whole system into disrepute and disgust with him, than to see with his own eyes and hear with his own ears the effect it has upon the people. His feeling in this manner the ill consequences of the system will, I am persuaded, be the only means of bringing on that *only* change which can do good, I mean the change of the whole scheme of weak, divided, and dependent administrations. However, I beg pardon if I have urged this too much. The grand point, to be sure, is a strong and natural expression of dislike to *our* elections for Middlesex. I would just submit, whether giving thanks (so far as regards this question) for what is passed, be sufficient; but that something of a request with regard to *redress and prevention*, in so interesting and important a point of public liberty, should be strongly pressed. I am sure I am far from thinking your lordship's expressions on this subject to be too warm. The address ought to be firm and full of

vigour; and I rather think that the thanks for the *nullum tempus*, both the first and the last, were rather too short and general. I am no great friend, in general, of long-winded performances; but certainly the very length of these things greatly aids the impression in several instances. The Surrey address is solely confined to the Middlesex election, which is certainly the best of two *extremes*. I call this an *extreme*, because, certainly, our voting the *civil list debt*<sup>1</sup> without account, besides other proceedings, merit a very large share of censure, and might, at least, be involved in general terms. I forgot to mention a thing that just struck me, relative to that hint of general warrants. Your lordship sees that it will require some delicacy to keep up that very right idea of your lordship's, "that they should recollect to what party they are obliged for that determination," without seeming to put a studied affront on G. G., with whom an appearance of union at this time, and on this measure, may be very necessary.

I had yesterday, on my return from town, a note from the Duke of Richmond. It was to tell me that he proposed to dine with me on his way

<sup>1</sup> A sum exceeding £500,000 was granted to pay off a debt on the civil list, without due inquiry or the production of papers, which were, however, promised to be ready, at the following meeting of parliament! (See King's Message, February 28, 1769.)

from Park-place. I was unluckily in London, and so missed of him.

Sir W. Meredith's pamphlet is out, and, I believe, liked; but I know very little of what is said and done. My brother has got a present of an *anonymous* fowl from the West Indies. It is not ugly, and may be curious; he has sent it to Grosvenor-square, and takes the liberty of requesting Lady Rockingham's acceptance of it.

I am afraid of detaining your servant longer. If anything should occur, I may trouble your lordship with it another time.

Surely your lordship's sentiments about Sir George Colebrooke are as proper as possible; and I beg you will not think I presumed to press upon you things of that nature, when I knew your hands to be previously so very full. I ought to ask a thousand pardons for troubling you in any way about them; but they would have been apt to attribute my refusal to apply to ill-nature, or a worse motive, if worse there be. A thousand thanks for what you have done, which was more by a great deal than I could in reason have expected. Adieu, my dear lord, and do me the justice to believe me, with the truest and heartiest affection,

Your lordship's ever obliged and obedient  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.



EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Gregories, Sunday, July 9, 1769.

MY DEAR LORD,

I was on the point of sitting down to trouble your lordship with a word or two more, on the subject of your last letter, when I heard from Will. Burke that he had seen Lord Chatham pass by, on his return from St. James's, and that he had certainly been in the closet. He did not continue there above twenty minutes. It is not yet known whether he was sent for, or went of his own mere motion. If he was sent for, the shortness of the conference seems to indicate that nothing at all has been settled. If he was not sent for, it was only humbly to lay a reprimand at the feet of his most gracious master, and to talk some significant, pompous, creeping, explanatory, ambiguous matter, in the true Chathamian style, and that's all. If, indeed, a change is thought on, I make no doubt but they will aim at the choice of him, as the puller-down of the old, and the architect of the new fabric. If so, the building will not, I suspect, be executed in a very workmanlike manner, and can hardly be such as your lordship will choose to be lodged

in, though you should be invited to the state apartment in it ;—which, however, will not be the event, whether the arrangement is made agreeably to the inclination of Lord Chatham, or of those who employ him. The plan of the court, (coinciding sufficiently with his dispositions, but totally adverse to your principles and wishes,) would be to keep the gross of the present ministry as the body of the place, and to buttress it up with the Grenvilles and the Shelburne people. This arrangement would partly resist, and partly dissipate the present storm. It would give them a degree of present strength, much wanting in this ugly crisis of their affairs, and which, it would be admitted, is considerable, without subjecting them to the effects of that plan of connexion which is the greatest of all possible terrors to the Bute faction. Whatever they may do, or threaten at court, I should fancy your lordship's conduct will not be affected by it one way or the other. If I have any guess, from public appearance or private information, it is steadily adverse (as far as there is steadiness in any of its dispositions) to your lordship, to your friends, and to your principles. Your strength is of another kind and, I trust, a better. The sole method of operating upon them, because they have no other standard of respect, is, by fear. They will never give your lordship credit for your moderation. Your doing

but little, will be attributed to your not being in a situation to do more. With regard to your own friends, a certain delicacy of management (which is one of the things in which you excel) is certainly very proper, and much in the tenor of your whole conduct; but so far as the court is concerned, the most effectual method seems to be far the best, and I could wish your lordship to choose such time, place, and manner, for carrying through the business concerning the right of election, as will have most of a sober and well-conducted energy in it, without the smallest regard to their opinions or their representations. Far from shunning the appearance of a lead in this business, it would be every way better, that they thought the whole manœuvre as much owing to your lordship's weight in your county, and to your activity in exerting it, as to the general sense and inclination of the people, merely left to themselves. It is the true terror of those, who take the lead in the scheme of private influence, to find that the people have their leaders too, in whom they repose a perfect confidence.

I had lately a short letter from the Duke of Richmond. As the disposition to do something relative to the right of election seems to spread and grow warmer every day, he desires to know from me, what your inclinations were with regard to this point. I informed his grace of the sub-

stance of your lordship's letter, in the shortest manner I was able ; that you were far from adverse to some proceeding, but that you wished it on a plan more limited than that of the Middlesex and London, and confined nearly, if not entirely, to that single interesting point, that you seemed to prefer the method of instruction to that of petition (at least in your own county), but that you had said nothing of a definitive resolution upon that subject in your letter to me. As to the rest, I wrote pretty nearly in substance the same to his grace that I had done to your lordship. Might I presume to suggest, that just at this time he may possibly expect to hear from your lordship, by the first safe conveyance. If the letter be given to his porter, it will be sent by the coach to Goodwood.

I saw a person who may be supposed to talk pretty much the language of the Butes, when I was in town last Wednesday. The ministers are extremely alarmed at the late proceedings in London and Surrey ; and not less so at the late advices from America. In this staggering situation, I imagine, they would derive great comfort, and some support, by finding a slur cast upon the mode of petitioning. They have great terror from the circumstance of bringing the discontents of the people directly home to the king. From instructions they have but little apprehension ;



they are a good deal worn out, and as such are hardly fit to be employed on a business, new, unprecedented, and nationally alarming; and they know besides, I suppose, from experience, that nothing much affects at \* \* \* \* but what is directly seen and heard; and, in truth, this is the case of most weak and inexperienced people. It is from the fears of the adversary, that sometimes one must take a direction for the operations against him. I beg pardon, for opening this affair again to your lordship, especially as you have friends near you, among whom it will be discussed to your satisfaction in every particular. Your lordship has seen the Buckinghamshire advertisement. Lord Verney opened the matter to the grand jury, by telling them, that several respectable gentlemen and freeholders had applied to him to propose a meeting on the judgment in favour of Colonel Luttrell, that he had declined taking it upon him, as member for the county, but that in that capacity he was very willing to *attend* the meeting, and to act in conformity to their determination. There was some, though but a feeble, opposition to the meeting. When it came to the question, eleven were for it, only three against. One was neuter. The sheriff refused to advertise, on which they agreed to do it without him. The meeting is put off until, I think, the twelfth of September, or thereabouts. This measure of delay, I attribute

to the politics of Stowe<sup>2</sup>. The reason assigned is, that the freeholders should be able to get their harvest in, and come in greater numbers, and with less inconvenience to the meeting. But the former, I imagine, to be the true reason, unless, perhaps, they may be willing to see what course is taken in Yorkshire, before they begin to move.

I got a letter, since I began this, from Charles Townshend (Tommy's brother). He says that Pitt seemed to be in remarkable good humour, on coming out of the closet. I hear, too, that Lord Hertford, whose eldest hope has been for a long time talking opposition language in all companies, has been at Stowe. If this be true, it is probably settled for a family system, which, in my opinion, precludes all possibility of a good event. Had the first offer gone elsewhere, they might have fallen into a plan of yours, with credit to themselves, and possibly with advantage to the public. This could not be the event, either in point of reputation or safety, if under the direction of Lord Chatham, and the lead of the Grenvilles, your

<sup>2</sup> The seat of Richard, second Earl Temple, elder brother of Mr. George Grenville, from whom the present Duke of Buckingham descends. Mr. G. Grenville, who was prime minister in 1763, was brother-in-law to Lord Chatham, by the latter's marriage with Lady Hester Grenville. To these connexions Mr. Burke refers, when he mentions "a family system."

lordship and your friends were to make a part of an arrangement. The court alone can profit by any movements of Lord Chatham, and he is always their resource, when they are run hard. I never attempt to write any thing like news to your lordship, that, when it is done, I do not begin to think myself very foolish, considering my own distant situation, and the lingering method of conveyance. You have all this, undoubtedly, more fully and authentically from others, as well as much earlier. However, I take my chance, and am with the greatest respect and affection,

My dear lord,

Your ever obedient and obliged

humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Beaconsfield, July 30, 1769.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have had a letter from Mr. Dowdeswell, in which he spoke of being here, or meeting me at some third place, in a few days. He has written something which he wished me to see before its publication. I dare say it will be able and useful. Dr. Blackstone has answered Sir W. Meredith's

pamphlet. I have not yet seen it ; but it is more hot and bitter, by far, than able and satisfactory, according to the accounts I have had. The spirit of petitioning extends and strengthens. Cornwall, Wilts, and Worcester, have appointed meetings. The ministry move heaven and earth to prevent the progress of this spirit, and in some places they have succeeded. Rigby got it under in Essex. I am told he has made the same efforts, with the same effect, in Norfolk ; and he is now gone, with his friend, the provost, to oppose it in Northampton, though that is a county in which I should but little suspect a spirit of that kind, so that his work will probably be easy. I assure your lordship by every thing that I can find, that both friends and foes look with very anxious eyes towards Yorkshire. The one very eagerly expecting, the other heartily dreading, some motion of yours. I hear the language of the courtiers is, that your lordship has put a stop to the design of petitioning in your county, and they have commended you for it ; but I trust you will not long suffer the disgrace of their praises. Charles Fox called to see me, and I gathered a good deal of the tone they hold from him. He talks of the Bedfords in his old strain of dislike ; but the ministry is much more united by the union of the other parties ; things grow more distinct ; the ministry becomes more formed ; and the necessity of firmness and



perseverance is every day more evident. I do believe, that the Duke of Grafton has got new and stronger assurances than ever of support, and that the court is fully determined to abide by the plan of the last session. If the humour of petitioning should become any thing like general, they must, notwithstanding all their pretended support, union, and firmness, abandon the field with disgrace. They will not dare at least to take any step toward punishing those who have been active in that obnoxious measure. But it is their intention, and it will be in their power, in case the petitioners should be comparatively few, to make an example of terror to all future attempts of expressing the sense of the people, in any other way than by the votes of the house of commons. I never looked upon this method of petition to the Crown as a thing eligible, but as a matter of urgent and disagreeable necessity. The course of thanking the members for their votes expresses, indeed, a dissatisfaction in the procedure of the house of commons; but it expresses also a submission to it; but if we mean to get *redress*, we must strengthen the hands of the minority within doors, by the accession of the public opinion, strongly declared to the court, which is the source of the whole mischief. I cannot, for my life, see what can be done very effectual, as long as this parliament and this ministry

subsist. I was surprised not to see so much as the thanks of your grand jury to your members, in the newspaper. I should have sent it, but that I was not sure, by your not having published it yourselves, that you had not some reason for keeping it back. I should have thought the very purpose of these things to be the most extensive publication.

As to what I was doing myself<sup>3</sup>, I find it more difficult to bring it to the present state of things, than to produce something altogether new. Various matters have so dissipated me, as to hinder me from a vigorous pursuit of this object. I had some notion of casting it into the form of a letter, addressed to a person who had long been in parliament, and is now retired with all his old principles and regards still fresh and alive;—I mean old Mr. White<sup>4</sup>. I wish to know whether your lordship likes this? Whether you do, or do not, you will take no notice of my design. Before I conclude, I ought to tell you that Lord Chatham passed by my door on Friday morning, in a jimwhiskee drawn by two horses, one before the other;—he drove himself. His train was two coaches-and-six, with twenty servants, male and

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Burke refers here to his first designs for the political tract, which afterwards appeared under the title of "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents."

<sup>4</sup> Probably John White, Esq., M.P. for Retford.

female. He was proceeding with his whole family (Lady Chatham, two sons, and two daughters,) to Stowe. He lay at Beconsfield, was well and cheerful, and walked up and down stairs at the inn without help. I long very much to wait upon your lordship; but until I have given Dowdeswell a meeting, it will be impossible. I have a fine turtle, at least I am told so. I believe it better to send it to York, to meet your lordship at the races, than to have it directed to Wentworth. Present my humble duty to Lady Rockingham; her ladyship may now renew her coqueties with Lord Chatham. The equipage that he now drives is quite gay and youthful, and they may begin, as formerly, a negotiation about carriages and horses.

With the greatest affection and attachment,

My dear lord,

Your ever obedient and obliged

humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

August 13, 1769.

MY DEAR LORD,

I inclose Mr. Dowdeswell's letter to me. I received it this morning. I have nothing to add to it, but my earnest wishes that your lordship may take just that line which is most agreeable to dignity, to reputation, and to your own natural and just weight in your own country. What that line is, it would be great presumption in me to say with any degree of determination, when there is a difference of opinion amongst the weightiest of our friends<sup>1</sup>. We are come to a great crisis; and much of the future colour of all public affairs will depend upon your lordship's conduct at this time. Be that conduct what it may, I shall easily persuade myself that it is right.

<sup>1</sup> This difference of opinion refers chiefly to the direction proposed to be given to the expression of public feeling, on the violation of the rights of the freeholders of Middlesex, by the majority of the house of commons who set aside the return of Wilkes. The sense of the country was universally and strongly against the unconstitutional proceeding; but it was debated among the friends to the freedom of election, what course it would be best to take to manifest their opposition. Petitions to the crown, from the counties, cities, and principal towns of England, complaining of the injury done to the rights of the electors, were generally resorted to.



Will. Burke is just come from Lord Verney's. He has not been at the last general court of the East India Company, but the account I have heard is an extraordinary one. I am assured that Lord Weymouth<sup>2</sup> has written to the directors, that the naval force which they had applied for would not be sent, unless the court should consent to name the commander of that force (Sir John Lindsay) one in their commission of supervisure. To send aid to the company on a condition, and that that condition should be an intrusion of a person into the ultimate direction of all their affairs, of whatever nature, appeared a proceeding very alarming. The court took fire at it, and I think with very great reason. They adjourned their determination until Tuesday, when they will receive or reject it finally. It is a bold stroke. The gang are driving at every thing, either for their friends, or those whom they hope to make such. The Butes are certainly out of humour, but don't know how to help themselves. Will. is going to town in some hurry; so that I have only to assure your lordship, that I am ever, with the sincerest regard and attachment,

My dear lord,

Your obliged and obedient friend and servant,

EDM. BURKE.

<sup>2</sup> At this time, a principal secretary of state.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Gregories, September, 1769.

MY DEAR LORD,

While I wait with some degree of earnestness for the longer letter you proposed to honour me with, permit me to thank you for the short one. It gave me as much satisfaction as I have received from almost any circumstance in my life. I do assure your lordship, that the supposed inaction of Yorkshire was a matter of greater pleasure to enemies, and of despair to friends of every sort, than can be well expressed. The well-wishers of the cause now begin to brighten up, and to entertain livelier hopes. I send you, inclosed, a letter which I had a little time ago from Whately<sup>3</sup>. He is now with me. On conversation with him, I find it to be true, which indeed I partly suspected, that a long day was fixed for the Buckinghamshire petition, in order to observe what steps were taken in other places; and to press the business or to relax in the pursuit, according to the spirit in which it should be prosecuted elsewhere, espe-

<sup>3</sup> Probably Thomas Whately, Esq., the well known writer on landscape gardening, and uncle to the present archbishop of Dublin. He was under secretary of state to the Earl of Suffolk, and died in 1773.

cially within the region of your lordship's influence. But, upon seeing the Yorkshire advertisement, they have prepared a number of handbills to be circulated at and after the races, and are resolved, at the same time, not to omit private applications for attendance. They are confident of a numerous and respectable meeting; though my opinion is, that they have been rather too late and too languid, considering that there are in this county strong and active interests against us. I have seen the draft of the petition. For the substance, it is very well; nothing very poignant in the expression, but nothing faulty that I could find. Some points, besides the great object of the petition, are hinted at; but there is nothing more than a hint, properly and judiciously enough put, as I apprehend. They have not yet quite settled the plan of the procedure. There is to be a meeting for that purpose to-morrow at the races; but the present idea is, that Mr. Hampden should move the petition, and that, if it should be carried, the members of parliament for the county, and resident in it, should present it to the king. Other gentlemen they did not choose to apply to on this occasion, for fear of creating a jealousy by a preference of one to another. I thought that, by all means, some gentlemen not in parliament should be added, lest it should look solely like a manœuvre of politicians, and not the genuine sense

of the county. It is a loss of which I am very sensible, that the distance makes it impossible for me to have your lordship's advice upon every step of my conduct, but I shall act as nearly upon your general ideas as I can. I perceive that Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville seem prodigiously desirous of my paying them a visit. With regard to the former, I have promised it, in case of my going to Biddlesden, and did not decline it with regard to the latter, but promised nothing. I think they wish to mark in some very public manner, that they are on no ill terms with your lordship; and I expect, in conformity to that plan, a good deal of attention from Lord Temple at the meeting. I shall avoid going too far, not knowing how all this may end; and, indeed, because I do not find that your lordship has at all settled how far you intend coalition with them. On this hand, I would not choose a very shy and cold behaviour, for fear of defeating any part of the end for which we met at the Thatched House, or showing anything of disunion, or mutual dislike, in the presence of the common enemy. This kind of behaviour requires a delicacy of management, for which I do not feel myself well qualified, having ever liked a decided situation of friendship or enmity; but that is not always in my choice. I mentioned to Whately, in confidence, the doubts which prevailed among your lordship's friends, concerning the object to what



the petition ought to be directed; that some of them were of opinion that the application should be made to the house of commons, and not to the crown. He told me that Mr. Grenville had originally entertained doubts pretty nearly of the same nature; but that he is *now* entirely in favour of a petition to the crown, because that measure being free from any objection merely constitutional, and happening to be that which was first adopted, it would break the unity and firmness of that chain of proceeding in the several counties and towns, (upon the preservation of which the whole efficiency of this measure may very probably depend,) if we were to vary from the original mode of address; that variation, with the departure also from the *latitude* of the original plan, amounting to no less than a condemnation of the whole measure, as far as it has been hitherto pursued. I confess myself entirely of the same opinion. It must be of infinite importance, that the whole stream of the petitions should, as much as possible, run one way. In an affair of this sort, it will, besides, be necessary to be as simple as we can. Every new controversy will embarrass us; and in the meetings which may and ought to follow that of Yorkshire, if that county takes a road of its own, there will be two questions; one on the merits, the other on the mode. They will have two patterns to follow; and the disputes which

may arise on the preference of these modes, cannot fail of creating difficulties, which may frustrate the whole design. There is another point, too, which a little affects me. If a petition is prepared to parliament, it supposes that the other petitions, directly or obliquely calling for a dissolution of parliament, ought to have an effect; and, after all, what reason is there to believe, that the same parliament which has so haughtily rejected the petition from Middlesex, will listen to one from any other county? If a petition to the crown be voted, so far you proceed in concert with other places; and it is no inconsistency to add, if that should be thought proper, petitions also to the houses of lords and commons. I find that the people here expect, that the other counties in which your lordship's friends have a powerful interest, should follow your pattern with speed and vigour. Lancashire is by no means wholly in the hands of Lord Strange<sup>4</sup>, so as to prevent the exertion of a strong spirit there, as well as in Liverpool and Lancaster; to say nothing of what may be done in the city of York, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, &c. &c. It grows very late, and I must set off for the little meeting at the races early to-morrow. Whately is gone. Your lordship will excuse the blots, the paper, the

<sup>4</sup> The eldest son of Edward, eleventh Earl of Derby.

inaccuracies of every kind. I am just this moment ill-furnished with materials or time for writing. I shall be more explicit on my return. In the mean time, I am, with the most real affection and attachment,

My dear lord,  
Your ever obliged and obedient  
humble servant,  
EDM. BURKE.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Gregories, September<sup>5</sup>, 1769.

MY DEAR LORD,

Our meeting was held yesterday; the ostensible particulars of which Lord Temple took care to transmit immediately to the newspaper. I shall not, therefore, trouble your lordship with them here. Very little pains were taken to form a striking appearance on the day; however, it proved beyond expectation. Aubrey<sup>6</sup> was the only per-

<sup>5</sup> The day of the month is nearly obliterated in the MS., but the context shows it should be the 12th. The Buckinghamshire county meeting having been on the 11th September, 1769.

<sup>6</sup> Subsequently Sir John Aubrey, at one time M.P. for Wallingford, afterwards for Aldeburgh, and, in 1812, for Steyning.

son who seemed to have acted rightly; he came into the town on horseback at the head of sixty-five freeholders. However, when we got into the town-hall, it was quite full; there were not fewer, I imagine, than four hundred, many of them substantial people, who came forward to the work with a good countenance, and an alacrity equal to that of the third regiment of guards<sup>7</sup>. Every thing had been done to traverse us; the terrors of the house of commons were held over many, and the word was; "The king will despise your petitions, and then what will you do? Will you go into rebellion?" &c. &c. The tories in general stayed away. O'Brien<sup>8</sup>, in his speech, let fly at the Earl of Bute, and was rather for giving a more whiggish complexion to the meeting, than would be quite prudent in a county where the others were so strong, and in which some of them voted with us, though they did not choose to appear on this occasion. But on the whole he did very well. No Grenville, except George's eldest son<sup>9</sup>, a very sensible boy, and as well disposed to a little fac-

<sup>7</sup> Alluding to the employment of the military in St. George's Fields, in the spring of the preceding year.

<sup>8</sup> Probably Murrough O'Brien, Esq., afterwards Earl of Inchiquin; created in 1800, Marquis of Thomond. He died in 1808.

<sup>9</sup> George, afterwards third Earl Temple, and first Marquis of Buckingham.



tion as any of his family. We were told we should have had Harry Grenville<sup>10</sup>, but Lord Temple found out that he was no freeholder in the county. His lordship, after dinner, made an apology for George's absence, declaring, that he highly approved the principles of the meeting, but thought he should be able to defend it with the greater weight if he were not present at it. This was awkward, and awkwardly delivered. At the dinner it was thought necessary that the gentlemen should not dine all together; accordingly, Lord Temple stayed at one house, and Lord Verney and some more of us went to the other. In order to preserve a harmony in our toasts, they sent them to us from the house we had left, where they had been devised. An attempt was made to insinuate a great deal of Grenvilleism into the meeting. However, something was done a little to balance it; and a toast that had been sent down in an improper mode, about Yorkshire, was dressed by Aubrey and O'Brien in somewhat a better manner. What think you of the three united brothers<sup>11</sup>? The freeholders dined, as we did all, at a market-ordinary, for which we paid our shillings. Afterwards, wine was given at the expense of Lord V. and Lord T——. The first part was necessary,

<sup>10</sup> A brother of Lord Temple.

<sup>11</sup> Lord Chatham, and his brothers by marriage, Lord Temple and Mr. George Grenville.

because the freeholders had been informed that there was to be no treating; and they were to be induced to come by the moderation of the expense. The other was proper to conclude the day cheerfully, and it had a very good effect. I take it the signature will be general. Above three hundred signed upon the spot. We have not, I believe, two thousand in the county. \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \*

Believe me, with the sincerest and most cordial attachment, my dear lord,

Your ever obedient and obliged  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Gregories, October 9, 1769.

MY DEAR LORD,

Tommy Townshend called here on his return from a tour to the westward. We had a good deal of indifferent with some political conversation. He talked, as all the world does, of the union of the parties in opposition as a thing very happy and very certain. I threw out a good many doubts of the possibility of a cordial or safe union for us under the direction of the brothers, or of their ever consenting to act with us under any other

direction. Each of them had ambition and pretensions enough when they were separate ; united, their aims would certainly not be less, and their demands would be higher and more plausible. He did not see these difficulties in so strong a light as I did. I hinted that the brothers, having proclaimed their resolution to act together to the whole world, and in the strongest terms, (to say nothing of the other two,) we had not the least knowledge of the dispositions of Lord Chatham, or of what he would have pass for his dispositions, with regard to your lordship and your connexion, and that past experience had informed us of nothing but his enmity to your whole system of men and opinions. He has had some conversation with Lord Chatham, but seemed very reserved in delivering an opinion on his sentiments, if, in reality, he has had an opportunity of forming any. Lord Chatham, he said, took every opportunity of speaking in the highest terms of Sir Chas. Saunders and Admiral Keppel, not only as great men in their profession, but as persons of the greatest honour and integrity. The frequent mention which was made of them, persuaded Townshend that he wished them to take some opportunity of paying him a visit, as it were to congratulate him on the restoration of his health ; and that he desired it, with a view of opening himself to them with more fulness and confidence in relation to your party.

Townshend being a mutual friend, and having been formerly an internuncio between you, I consider what he said to him as an oblique message. He desired me to communicate these conversations with Lord Chatham; I said I would to your lordship, but not to Keppel and Saunders; but told him that the better way for him would be to call upon you himself, and to talk over the matter, when your lordship should return from Newmarket. Very possibly you have already seen him, and have heard more than I relate. I take Townshend to be a very honest and safe man, and yet, considering his connexion with Lord Chatham, perhaps I opened to him my own political creed with too little reserve; however, I told him that they were only my private sentiments, unauthorized by your lordship or any of the principal persons in your connexion; indeed, they were perhaps more than it would be prudent for any person of weight to deliver to any other than very confidential people just at this moment; and yet I foresee that it will be necessary to declare something like them strongly and openly. But, at this minute your lordship has, undoubtedly, a very delicate game to play, in which you cannot disavow this supposed union without giving great advantages to the common enemy; or admit too much of it, without the risk of putting yourself in the power of your allies, on the one hand, or giving them a pretence



to charge you with breach of faith, on the other. I beg to put your lordship in mind of little Stuart, in his pursuit of the secretaryship to the arts and commerce. When I showed his letter to Sir George Saville<sup>1</sup>, at Doncaster, I had no answer. I hope he is not engaged. The Quarmes are members. If your lordship should desire me to come to London, I have nothing to prevent it. I am, with the greatest truth, my dear lord,

Your ever obliged and obedient  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

1769.

MY DEAR LORD,

I send you a good part of what I have been meditating about the system of the court, and which you were so earnest to see carried into execution<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Member for Yorkshire, and a distinguished supporter of the Rockingham party.

<sup>2</sup> The commencement of the pamphlet mentioned in a former note, and published in the next year under the title of "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents." It will be seen in the subsequent correspondence, that the completion of this tract was much delayed, by frequent references to the

I thought it better to let you see what was finished, rather than to postpone it until the whole was completed. The design appears distinctly enough, from what has been done. If you and your friends approve of it, you will be so good to send it back, with your observations, as soon as possible, that it may go to the press; when I have got through the concluding part, you shall have that also, and on its return, it shall follow the rest.

It will be a matter very proper for the consideration of your lordship and your friends, whether a thing of this nature should appear at all. It is, in the first place, a formal attack upon that object which has been nearest and dearest to the court since the beginning of the reign; and of course, if this thing should be supposed to express your sentiments, must put you on terms irreconcilably bad with the court and every one of its adherents. I foresee, at the same time, that the other bodies who compose the opposition, will desire "not to be comprehended in these declarations," as G. G. said, upon such an occasion, two years ago, so that you irritate, past forgiveness, the court party, and you do not conciliate all the opposition. Besides, I am very far from confident, that the doctrines avowed in this piece (though as

author's political friends, and by more than one change in its form.

clear to me as first principles) will be considered as well founded, or that they will be at all popular. If so, we lose upon every side.

As to myself, I am indifferent about the event. Only, for my credit, (as I fear from some particular opinions, and from this extensive previous communication, I shall be considered as the author,) I wish, that if our friends approve the design, I may have some tolerable support in parliament, from the innumerable attacks it will bring upon me. If this be successful with the public, I shall have enough of odium; I could wish it a little divided, if the sentiments should belong to others as well as to myself; for it is upon this presumption, and with this view only, that I mean to publish. In order that it should be truly the common cause, make it at your meeting what you please. Let me know what ought to be left out, what softened, and what strengthened. On reading it to Will. and Dick, they thought some things a little too ludicrous. I thought much otherwise, for I could rather wish that more had occurred to me, (as more would, had my spirits been high,) for I know how ill a long detail of politics, not animated by a direct controversy, wants every kind of help to make it tolerable.

The whole is, in a manner, new cast, something to the prejudice of the order, which, if I can, I will rectify, though I fear this will be difficult.

The former scheme would no ways answer, and I wish I had entirely thrown it aside, as it has embarrassed me a good deal. The whole attack on Pitt's conduct must be omitted, or we shall draw the cry of the world upon us, as if we meant directly to quarrel with all mankind.

My brother <sup>3</sup> is ordered to Grenada, though his leg is not yet in a condition, as his surgeons tell him, and as he feels, to conflict with that climate. If he goes, he goes I fear to death; if he stays, he loses his place, with the mortifying circumstance of accommodating an enemy. This is not pleasant to me.

You will present my compliments to your company, with whom, though absent, I am present in spirit; I am, to them and to your lordship, what ever I ought to be, most sincerely and affectionately your attached and obedient humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

I forgot to mention an application to me from a Mr. Tyson on the part of a Mr. Mackinnon, a gentleman of Antigua, of considerable fortune, who lives at Southampton. He has some notion of attacking the members there, and has sent this Mr. Tyson to declare his attachment to your lord-

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Richard Burke had broken his leg a few months before. He held an office in the customs, at Grenada; which he had obtained in or about 1764.



ship's interests in politics. As I must understand his intention, I told him that your lordship's friends had resolved, as a general maxim, on not promising an election support, in a parliamentary character, to any person directly or indirectly ; this, as strong as I could. I have since been desired to know what your lordship's answer is. May I venture, from you, to repeat what I told him, as a general principle of the party ?

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Gregories, Sunday, October 29, 1769.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am infinitely obliged to your lordship for your long and satisfactory letter, which I concealed or communicated in the manner I thought most agreeable to your wishes. I found Lord Albemarle had not received the copy your lordship intended for him ; I therefore showed him mine, and let Mason make a copy of it for Keppel and Saunders, when they should come to town. I showed it, besides, to Lord J. Cavendish and Lord Frederick. They all concurred very nearly in sentiment with your lordship, upon every particular. There was some doubt, whether our two friends

ought not to pay the visit which, it seems, is desired, in order to hear at least what style he<sup>4</sup> uses, and what sentiments he would be believed to entertain; but they will do nothing without your desire. For my own part, the more I think of it, the more perfectly I am convinced that we ought to take no sort of notice of him, but to proceed exactly as if no such man existed in the world. For though, according to Lord Camden's phrase, Lord Chatham has had a wonderful resurrection to health, his resurrection to credit and consequence, and to the power of doing mischief, (without which last his resurrection will be incomplete,) must be owing to your lordship and your friends. It ought never to be forgotten, how much the late Duke of Newcastle hurt himself, in his interest very often, in his reputation almost always, by his itch of negotiation. If Lord C. has any thing to communicate to these gentlemen, he may send for them. This union of the three brothers will distract the country as much in future, as their dissensions did formerly. I quite agree with your lordship, that Grenville is the most temperate and manageable of the three; but he is no longer George Grenville, a disengaged individual, but one of the triumvirate, to whom, by the way, he brings all the following that they

<sup>4</sup> Lord Chatham.

possess. Nothing can be said of him, but what can be said, with equal truth, of the other two, from whom, I really believe, he will never disconnect himself. All these considerations make me wish, as ardently as your lordship's partiality can do, that my little scheme was in a way of being speedily completed. I see, I feel, the necessity of justifying to our friends and to the world, the refusal, which is inevitable, of what will be thought very advantageous offers. This can only be done by showing the ground upon which the party stands, and how different its constitution, as well as the persons who compose it, are from the Bedfords, and Grenvilles, and other knots, who are combined for no public purpose, but only as a means of furthering, with joint strength, their private and individual advantage. I am afraid I shall never compass this design to my mind. Hitherto I have been so variously distracted, that I have made but little progress, indeed none; but to-day I began to set to work a little seriously. But, in order to produce something which, by being timely, may be useful, I must beg to be excused from going to Yorkshire in the next month. This would break me to pieces, and I think I may do more service here. Perhaps I may be able to send something for your consideration at that meeting.

Your lordship's conversation with the king's

friend was curious. I can be at no loss for the person. I am told he talks very loud opposition; but let him, or the rest of his corps, talk what language they will, it will, translated into plain English, signify nothing but a repetition of the old system; nor can it be thought that by sending for Lord Chatham, they mean any thing else than to patch a shred or two, of one or more of the other parties, upon the old Bute garment, since their last piecing is worn out. If they had been dissatisfied with the last botching of Lord Chatham, they would not have thought again of the same workman. Perhaps, for that reason, (if any thing of the kind is worth a second thought,) it might be as well not to suggest any thing of our dislike of that person to any one of the sacred band: as their opinion of our disunion will rather fortify the court in its resolution of employing him in the formation of another of their expedient administrations. Indeed, as far as I can guess at their designs, by the discourses of last winter, or the beginning of summer, (for lately I have heard nothing,) they had no one point at heart but the perpetual exclusion of your lordship, and your whole system. Therefore, any look towards courts or courtiers, their liking or their displeasure, can be no plan for us. I am infinitely pleased with the resolution in Derbyshire; not so much for the addition of the voice



of that county, but as its silence would, and indeed did, look like a renunciation of the conduct held in other places. I have no kind of doubt of a sufficient majority in Lancashire against all the interest and all the efforts of Lord Strange. The difficulty will be in the *calling* of the meeting: but I should think that half-a-dozen principal gentlemen would be sufficient; and the trading and manufacturing towns would do the rest. Besides, I take it for granted, that our friends, Sir F. Standish and Sir Peter Lyster, would exert themselves. I see, by the paper, that something is likely to be stirred in Lincolnshire. Your lordship, no doubt, recollects how necessary the co-operation of Lord Scarborough and Lord Monson will be, to the success of a petition there. Nothing, as yet, of Nottingham; Cumberland likewise sleeps. Is it not most certain, that the latter county might be easily brought into a petition on the Duke of Portland's giving it his countenance?

Since I began this letter, which was two or three days ago, I have done something, not wholly to displease myself, in the beginning of the pamphlet. It was necessary to change it wholly from the manner in which you saw it; and I think the change has not been for the worse. Unluckily, I am broke off from it for about a week. Lord Verney seems a little hurt that I have not been to see him. I shall go to him to-

morrow, and stay till Saturday. While I am there, I propose to pay a visit at Stowe. Not coming directly from Yorkshire, it will have no appearance of a political advance : and not shunning the visit, will not look as if a hostile air was meant to be preserved, if the conversation should veer, as it must, towards politics. This is the line I intend to preserve to the best of my power. There has been much talk of the chancellor<sup>5</sup>; his opinions, dispositions, going out, or staying in ; but for my part, I look upon it all in the usual strain, of distressing the ministers into some bargain advantageous to him ; or in the style of Lord Chatham's politics, to keep hovering in air, over all parties, and to souse down where the prey may prove best. It is thought Wilmot<sup>6</sup> will be chosen to succeed him, if they cannot make up matters among themselves ; and I think they have it in their power to make it worth his while to accept. I long to hear how they go on in Ireland, and imagine I shall soon have a good account : if I should learn any thing satisfactory, your lordship shall have it in a short time. Stuart will, I hope, succeed in his little pursuit. He has been a great attender on that society ; but if he

<sup>5</sup> Lord Camden.

<sup>6</sup> Sir John Eardley Wilmot, chief justice of the common pleas.

had never set his foot within their doors, he has but too much abilities for their paltry business. I heard, accidentally, a report which gave me much concern, of your lordship being ill, and confined to your bed; but being informed it was nothing more than a boil, and knowing what good effects such eruptions have on your health, I was at length rather pleased. I beg leave to present my respects to Lady Rockingham. Believe me, my dear lord, with the greatest truth and affection,

Your ever obedient and obliged humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

I have just received George Grenville's speech, which I send to your lordship. It is not yet published.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Beaconsfield, November 6, 1769.

MY DEAR LORD,

Will. Burke and I spent the best part of last week with Lord Verney, and in a manner much to our satisfaction. We paid a morning visit to Stowe, where we found Lord Temple alone. We passed about three hours in the

gardens. I was prepared to find them grand and extensive, but insipid; however, it turned out otherwise. I thought many parts very interesting, and the whole as well managed as one could expect, from grounds which had been improved upon two very different ideas; and where the revolution of taste had signalized itself upon the same objects. Be they what they may, it was impossible that the gardens or gardening should engross us entirely during our walk. We had a great deal of political conversation. He was in good humour, and his manner was fair and open. Without seeming offended, the turn of his discourse indicated at times that he had heard of your lordship, and your friends, expressing a disrelish to their junto, though he did not speak out upon it so clearly, as to make me quite satisfied that this was his meaning. He said that as we had got to see one another, and to act together, he hoped there would be no retrospect, no charge, and no recrimination. That we had done each other a thousand acts of unkindness; let us make amends by a thousand acts of friendship. He was of opinion that, let what would happen, the great point for us, and the country, would be, to get rid of the present administration, which could only be effected by the appearance of union and confidence. He said, and he repeated it, that, to be sure, there was no treaty, expressed or



implied, to bind the parties in honour to one another, or to any measure, except the establishment of the rights of the freeholders. In every thing else, we were both free :—" we were both free to play the fool as much as we pleased, mark that." He said these last words with a good deal of emphasis. Lord Chatham, he told us, was exceedingly animated against the ministry. He was uneasy that the meeting of parliament was postponed ; lest a fit of the gout should intervene, though no moderate fit should keep him from the House of Peers on the first day of the session. His opinion is, that the affair of the Middlesex election should be taken up in that house, as well as the House of Commons. I can draw no certain inference from the last part of our discourse with Lord Temple, as it was rather in a matter of general speculation, than the business of the day. We talked of the court system, and their scheme of having dependent administrations. I spoke of this as the reigning evil ; and particularly mentioned the favourite idea, of a king's making a separate party for himself. He said this latter did not seem so bad a thing, if Lord Bute had not spoiled it. I said I thought it was mischievous, whether Lord Bute had a hand in it or not, and equally so. He contented himself with repeating his observation, as I did by repeating mine, and we said no more upon this subject.

On the whole, I was glad to find that we understood one another thoroughly, on the nature and extent of our coalition; which once being mutually explained, will not render it necessary to say any thing upon it publicly, so as to give an advantage against us to the common enemy. I forgot to mention any thing to your lordship on the revolution in the India House<sup>7</sup>. Indeed, I do

<sup>7</sup> The large territorial revenue obtained by the East India Company, as the fruits of the victories and treaties of Clive, attracted particularly the attention of the British government, in the Grafton and Chatham administration of 1766, when many projects were set on foot, (not always upon the most equitable principles,) for diverting into the English exchequer a large portion of that profuse stream of wealth which was expected to flow from the east into the company's coffers. These projects were, as was natural, opposed by the court of directors and proprietors of India stock, aided by a considerable party in the House of Commons, who regarded the claims of the government as violations of the company's charter, or as gross extortion. Mr. Burke, soon after obtaining a seat in parliament, distinguished himself by the vigour and ability with which he defended the company's rights; and in taking this side of the question, to which he was held by an innate hatred of oppression in whatever shape it appeared, he found it necessary to inform himself minutely and accurately upon all matters connected with the company's affairs in India. Gradually extending his researches, he acquired that vast, profound, and comprehensive knowledge of the political and social history of India, past and present, which he displayed in what he considered the most important labour of his life, the impeachment of Warren Hastings.

not wonder that I should, the misfortunes which my friends have met with there, make it a subject on which I do not like to turn my thoughts. Sullivan has gone over to the court. When I was told this, I said to my informer, as I do to your lordship, that I could not blame him. His consequence in the India House is much more material to him than his rank in parliament; and as the whole opposition, in a manner, disclaimed and persecuted him, what tie bound him

The designs of the government on the treasures of the company necessarily creating many opponents to ministers in the court of directors and amongst the proprietors, led to a connexion between them and the opposition in parliament. The success of ministers in procuring the defection from the company's cause of Mr. Sullivan and others of their body, is the subject of Mr. Burke's regret in this letter. It will be found subsequently, that the directors were not unmindful of the exertions he made to protect the company from spoliation and wrong. Those exertions, indeed, in which he was joined by many of the ablest men of the Rockingham and Grenville party, were but too frequently unavailing. The company was forced, in 1767, to agree to pay a subsidy of £400,000 a year to government, as long as the annual dividend on India stock exceeded six per cent. ; and this extortion was followed up by other oppressive measures which are mentioned hereafter.

The three gentlemen named in this letter, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Dempster, and Sir George Colebrooke, were East India directors. Mr. Sullivan appeared to have been in communication with Lord Chatham early in the year 1767.

from disclaiming them, and looking for support wherever he could find it? How he has arranged with Lord Shelburne, with whom he was generally supposed in connexion, I know not; but nobody else had any claim upon him. Neither Lord Clive's conduct in the Grenville administration, nor the attachment he has chosen since, put him one bit higher with me; indeed, he has not so much to be said in his favour. As to Sir George Colebrooke, he is just what I always thought him. He has shown himself even an enemy to poor Thibot Bourke; but in the present circumstances, his conduct is natural to people of his constitution, and we must submit to it. I turn rather to a better subject, which this brings to my mind. It is Dempster's conduct on the occasion. He thought, as I do, about Sullivan's coalition. He told him that it should make no difference in his line in the India House; that there he would as firmly stand by him, as he would continue to oppose his new friends in parliament; that his political connexion was with your lordship only, and would always be so, but that if Mr. Sullivan should find that course of conduct prejudicial to his interests in Leadenhall-street, that he would, at an hour's notice, disqualify for the directorship. This was what I expected from Dempster, in an affair like this;



not to sacrifice one duty to another, but to keep both if possible, if not, to put it out of his power to violate the principal.

When I got home I returned to my business, which I did not quite neglect whilst I was at Lord Verney's. I find I must either speak very broad, or weaken the matter, and render it vulgar and ineffectual. I find some difficulties as I proceed; for what appear to me self-evident propositions, the conduct and pretences of people oblige one formally to prove; and this seems to me, and to others, a dull and needless labour. However, a good deal of it will be soon ready, and you may dispose of it as you please. It will, I am afraid, be long. On my coming home I found, by woful experience, that one of the news-printers has got a country-house at Beconsfield. The old man that milks my cows and the old dairy-maid had married, and he has made a flaming paragraph of it. I suppose I shall be the subject of news enough, if this be the case. But I have sent a formal message, to beg myself off in the particular of my family here. I do not hear a word of news worth your notice. The speech I inclosed to you in my last <sup>s</sup>, is to be the subject of some animadversions from Wilkes. This, I am told, is a half-secret. I am sorry, just now, that

<sup>s</sup> A printed speech of Mr. George Grenville.

he should abuse him; for if it be well done, the ministry will triumph; if ill, Wilkes will lower himself, which will please them no less; besides, it may be thought that he is encouraged by me, or some of your lordship's friends. Will. takes this to town, whither he goes to correct the sheets of Dowdeswell's pamphlet. I have, I believe, tired you; and so shall take my leave, by assuring you that I am, with the most cordial attachment,

My dear lord,

Your ever obliged and obedient  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

I hope the Lord Cavendishes have taken care to secure a full meeting at Derby. It will be very awkward if they should have neglected this essential step. Dowdeswell has desired me to go to Yorkshire with him on the 13th. I foresee, that if I do, this business of mine will come to nothing, so I think I must decline it, for I really think something of the sort wanting; besides, we are to present the petition on Friday se'nnight. Your lordship will be so good as to present Mrs. Burke's and my respects to Lady Rockingham.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Fludyer-street, November 14, 1769.

MY DEAR LORD,

I came to town, a day or two ago, in order to attend our county petition; but a violent defluxion having fallen on Lord Verney's eyes, which has sentenced him to some medical operations, we are obliged to postpone the presenting it until some day next week; it will be Wednesday, I believe. On my way to town, I saw a person who has connexions with the Pitt family. He entertained me with an account of the present state of Lord Chatham's politics: violent, as before, against the ministry; determined to come out on the first day of the session; fixed upon three grand points—Corsica for foreign affairs, America for home policy, the right of election as a constitutional principle; that it was necessary that an administration should be formed in which the people might have some confidence; that it ought to be formed upon whig principles; that the Rockinghams and Cavendishes, and such ancient whig families, who had ever been true to their principles, and consistent in their conduct, ought to take the lead in such an administration. While I was thinking on all this, I got home, and found that Lord Temple had been here, and left word

that he wished to see me. When I called upon him yesterday, I found that he desired only to settle matters about the presentment of the petition. However, this matter was dispatched in a few moments, and he entered much more largely into politics. He expressed the most earnest desire of the union of all the parties into one, wished that all memory of past animosities might be worn away, and stated very strongly, and, as I since found, very truly, the hopes which the court built on the supposed impossibility of such an union. I told him that I believed no union could be formed of any effect or credit, which was not compacted upon this great principle,—“that the king’s men should be utterly destroyed as a corps,”—to which he assented very heartily. He seemed very solicitous that your lordship should come to town early; and laid open some particulars for a plan of opposition in the next session, so like our own general lines, that I think it unnecessary to trouble your lordship with them. At Stowe our conversation was guarded and cold; here it was otherwise, upon his part; on mine, I was nearly as reserved as before; not that I could, or did, other than express my wishes for a proper union, provided it were honourable and safe for all parties; neither did I disagree with him in opinion, that a great deal of the effect of our opposition depended upon it, as well as the



formation of a proper system, whenever you should be called upon to compose it. Afterwards I saw Keppel, who has received a much more direct message from Lord Chatham than the former: the substance is nearly the same with my information, containing a strong declaration of his resolution never to act but with your lordship and your system, with many high praises of both. I shall tell you no more, because I take it for granted that Keppel will give you a distinct account of the whole.

I cannot now send the rest of my pamphlet. It is not in order, nor quite finished even in the scheme; but I wish that, if you approve what is done, you may send it back; for it ought not now to have a moment's delay. Many rumours of war here; but I know not well how they are founded. My hearty regards to Mr. Dowdeswell. I hope he likes the manner in which his book is printed. I shall order a parcel to be sent down and charged to your lordship, that they may be fully dispersed in the north; for I am convinced that men want arguments, to reconcile their minds to what is done, as well as motives, originally to act right. With the most real affection and attachment,

My lord,

Your ever obliged and obedient  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Beconsfield, Tuesday, December 5, 1769.

MY DEAR LORD,

I wait, with some impatience, the return of the papers, with your observations and corrections. If ever, they ought to appear as soon as possible<sup>9</sup>. I am drawing to a conclusion, but I do not send this manuscript; partly, because it is not yet arranged to my mind; partly, because I expect soon to see your lordship in London. Your friends wish it very generally and warmly. They stand in a situation which happens, just now, to be rather awkward. Not that we are come so near a crisis, as some people imagine; very far from it, in my opinion. However, as your coming to town speedily can advance your own former determination but by a very few days, would it not be better that you were a little nearer to the centre, in order the more readily to collect your friends; and, in the mean time, to give them the *tone* which they ought to hold, at a time when it is not easy to say any thing which may not have a construction not pleasant to us upon the one side or the other, and

<sup>9</sup> "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents," appeared early in 1770.

when an affected silence may be as bad as an imprudent declaration? As to the Grenvilles, I am now satisfied that they have hitherto laboured, by every method, to give the world an impression that our junction is complete, and that the basis of it is their superiority in the arrangement. This appeared to me so much past all doubt, when I was in town, (from a story with which it is too long to trouble you now,) that I thought it necessary to be very explicit upon that subject, let the consequences be what they would; guarding, however, against any thing that should express any enmity towards these allies. I do by no means think that Lord Chatham goes with them as entirely as they think, or will make himself so subservient to the aggrandizement of their family, as they wish him to be. Not that I rely much on this speculation of my own, as perhaps I could not explain quite clearly the principles which lead me to it. I saw the Duke of Richmond. He is, I am sorry to say it, far from well. His opinion and affections are as they used to be; and his conversation, I believe, without the least disguise. He has so much aversion to the Grenvilles, and, unknown to himself, is biassed so much towards Conway, that I do not think his judgment so disengaged upon that point as upon any other. However, I gave him a very full detail of all that came to my knowledge since his departure; so that the

whole is pretty well before him, towards forming an opinion when you come to town, and bringing him to you from Goodwood.

I hope the Yorkshire petition is in forwardness, and will now be presented. Calcraft gave me the inclosed names, wishing that I would get some friends to forward their petition. That man's appearing in a cause, though unlucky to it, does not discredit it entirely. The only effect it has, is that which I have long seen, with infinite grief, from the coldness and dilatoriness of many of our friends in their manner of acting. Bold men take the lead to which others are entitled, and they soon come to a power not natural to them, by the remissness of those who neither know how to be effectual friends or dangerous enemies, or active champions in a good cause. They complain of the unnatural growth of such people, and they are the cause of it. When the gentlemen of the county of Kent abandoned the rights of their dependents and adherents, the freeholders of their county, it was but natural that they should abandon them, and look for protectors wherever they could find them. However, I send your lordship the list of the names, to forward this business as you think best. I hope in God this last illness does not continue. Much hangs upon your life and health. I heartily wish well to both on that account. Will you permit me to say, that I wish it from



motives of a more personal regard and affection, which is very much due and very real. Present my most humble respects to Lady Rockingham, and believe me ever,

My dear lord,  
Your most attached and obedient  
humble servant,  
EDM. BURKE.

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REV. DR. LELAND TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Mount Gallagher, March 22, 1770.

MY DEAREST NED,

I don't often trouble you, for I know you are generally too busy, or too dissipated, to write or read idle letters. Let this be some excuse for my present epistle, the purpose of which is, of all others, the most provokingly impertinent; for it is to censure and to advise you. You think too meanly of this place and people. *Without doors*, all are, to a man, your favourers and admirers; *within*, you have a great party. If you think an Irish reputation totally immaterial, your opponents are more flattering to us. Mr. Rigby and his friends wrote over *their* accounts of a squabble between you and him, about the affair of that Welsh borough of Lord Verney's, and have tricked

it out in such colours as they chose. At our levee last Sunday I was accosted by so many mysterious faces, to ask if there were any letters from you, and your name was pronounced with so many significant shrugs, that I really thought, till the provost read me his letter, that you had been sent to the Tower. Some of the warmest friends of the present ministry lamented that they had not been able to get *your* account of the transaction. But they sought it, in vain, from every friend of yours in the room. Now pray would it not be just worth while for the future, upon such occasions, to scratch out a few lines to some friend, but one more in the world than I am, to prevent misrepresentation? You'll say that it is not worth the trouble. But you may do it lolling on your evening chairs, or, what if you gave up a few minutes of your lolling? And now I have shot my bolt, so that I should here conclude with expressing my affection for those I love, in and out of your house. But you shall not get off so easily now the pen is in my hand.

Amidst the brawl of English and Irish politics, I have, with a sovereign contempt of all your great and our little affairs, lived in the glorious retirement of a country parson. I think little of the vices and follies of the present Irish race; but I have studied those of their progenitors with great care; and my History of the Affairs of

Ireland from Henry II. is in great forwardness. Sir George Macartney tells me you could get a peep into the manuscripts of Lord Hardwicke, and that they contain some things to my purpose. I wish I even could learn whether they do or no. The Irish books<sup>1</sup> which I received (from you I presume) are before O'Connor, and in a little time I shall be able to send you a particular account of their contents, which, it seems, are new and curious, but all relating to the ancient state of the kingdom, which I can only treat in a preliminary discourse. I must tell you my scheme, for you may do me a little service. I wish to publish two volumes next winter, containing the history of Irish affairs from the first invasion to the final settlement of the kingdom in the reign of James I.; and if these should take, to publish a continuation in two vols. more. I should be much obliged to you, if, in some hour of leisure, you would mention this matter to your bookseller, and open a treaty for the two vols. (each of which will be larger than one of Robertson's *Life of Charles*, if printed in the same manner,) but without taking notice of my intention for a continuation. My reasons for

<sup>1</sup> These were two manuscripts from the collection of Mr. Lloyd the antiquary, which he was unable to translate. They were afterwards made out by General Vallancey, the celebrated Irish scholar, and are mentioned by Leland in the preliminary discourse to his *History of Ireland*.

desiring this are, that I have conceived some little dissatisfaction at Johnston, my old printer; and you are a person of great figure and consequence, and these fellows will think highly of any thing that Mr. Burke seems to interest himself in. Do, for Heaven's sake, puff me, as Charlemont and Flood and Michael Kearney do. But the request is absurd; they have read a great part of what I have written; you have not. Ten thousand affectionate services to Mrs. Burke, Messrs. William and Richard, Sir Joshua, Mr. Dyer, &c. Alas! what is become of my dear friend Maclean? Spes altera at Gregories, I cordially salute; and pray, Mrs. Burke, kiss the sweet fellow for me. My most respectful compliments to good Dr. Nugent. I am, with all the good wishes of a warm heart, ever most affectionately yours,

THOS. LELAND.

One thing more: present my respects to Lord Lyttelton, and say that some little interruptions, occasioned by the death of my father, prevented me from having the honour of writing to his lordship. But these are over, and I shall speedily trouble him with a letter.



REV. DR. LELAND TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

June 11, 1770.

MY DEAR NED,

I exceedingly regretted the interruption of this, our week of examining for fellowships, because I was impatient to stop the vibrations of your exquisite sensibility. If my opinion had reached to any thing of real consequence, my opinion is of little value. But the history of my observations will but explain the trifling pedantry of it. C. O'Hara, in a conversation in Mount Gallagher, naturally asked if I had received and read the "Thoughts," &c. My answer was accompanied with a criticism I shall not repeat, qualified, however, with one remark; that, in my opinion, the business of a House of Commons had some little effect on the style of our friend, for that, in a few places, the phraseology was not as elegant as usual. I was directed to ascribe this to the very extensive communication of the work, and the author's admitting some insertions from other hands; and it provoked me, I confess, that when he accepted the thoughts of other people, he should not take the trouble of giving them his own colouring. As to the whole *matter*, and the general *manner*, be assured I not only approved but admired. I speak the freer, for

you know I am no flatterer. I love what is rational, practicable, and efficient. I despise fanaticism; and I detest knavery most of all when it takes the fanatic guise. But let me whisper in the squire's ear, that he thinks too meanly both of my heart and understanding, if he entertains the least imagination that I could regard him as a mere conduit for the conveyance of other people's sentiments or principles. On the contrary, I have an exquisite gratification in seeing that, ever since the publication of his thoughts, the herd has crowded round and lapped at his fountain.

I am in pain for Mrs. Burke; but possibly, by this time, all is well. It is a matter which occasions real anxiety in this house. Why can't such accidents happen in a parson's family? It is but a fortnight since a chopping boy arrived at Clare-street; the mother as well as ever, and the young dog has no notion of dying.

You are an honest man and a good creature; but I hope Zouch has not been sent to town on purpose, for it was not necessary. Whenever you are kind enough to advise me, don't mind a preface of fair speeches, for I think I am neither intractable nor opinionated. But whether I be or no, your repeated hint is a proof of your regard; and, moreover, it is judicious; and, moreover and above all, it has awakened me to the recollection of a very useful and necessary point, where I was

in real danger of erring<sup>2</sup>. I wish you were this summer to exchange Gregories, for my cottage in your favourite country. Now, what a rascally selfish wish was this! Is it not possible to hear that Richard has escaped his dreary voyage? Is he torn away by malice or necessity?

I am on the point of hurrying down to my parish. Jack Mason goes in a day or two. Lord Charlemont is already gone to feed his lady with goat's-whey, so that I have some good souls to take care of. If you think of appointing us a new lord lieutenant, let him be sent directly to Spà; for there he will find our primate, provost, attorney-general, lord chief-justice, and I know not how many of our Irish great folks, including George Faulkner<sup>3</sup>, covered with laurels from his paper war with Gorges Howard. If I were writing to Dick Burke, I should tell him the particulars of this war, and it would be worthy the pen of an historian; but you statesmen are fastidious. With my most affectionate compliments to my dear William, assure him that, last summer, I did every thing in my power to express my respect for Mr. Ashfordby, and his own vocations were

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Leland here refers to his History of Ireland, about to be published.

<sup>3</sup> George Faulkner, a well-known character in Dublin, and editor of the Freeman's Journal, published in that city. Gorges Howard was another political writer of the day.

the cause that I had the pleasure of his dining with me but once. Salute Mrs. Burke, the doctor, and every body in and out of the house most affectionately, and believe me to be

Yours, with a very warm and sincere regard,

THOS. LELAND.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

August 15, 1770.

MY DEAR SHACKLETON,

My wife has had a very long illness; it was a slow fever, with frequent appearances of amendment and frequent relapses. She was confined to her bed for above two months, and reduced in strength and in flesh beyond any thing that can be imagined. But, I thank God, she is now up again, in good spirits, and getting forward in strength as fast as can be expected from the miserable lowness into which she was fallen. As to poor Richard, he is, I hope, by this safe in Grenada. His health was not very good, and the strength of his broken leg by no means thoroughly restored at his departure. But he was to look for no favour or indulgence from our present rulers, who even attempted to take his employment from him; but in this lesser, as in many greater instances of their malignity,



they defeated their own purpose by the bungling method of the execution; and from shame, they found themselves obliged to restore him to his office, but under strict orders for departure, notwithstanding the testimony of the king's surgeon concerning the state of his leg. I think we may hear from him about the end of this month or early in the next. He goes into a bad climate, among worthless and disagreeable people; but I hope the goodness of Providence, in his favour, is not yet exhausted. However, he may partake of my own inattention in writing, I do assure you he never failed to remember you with the sincerest affection. I am glad that you find some entertainment in the "*Thoughts*." They have had, in general, (I flatter myself) the approbation of the most thinking part of the people, and the courtiers admit that the hostility has not been illiberal. The party which is most displeased, is a rotten subdivision of a faction amongst ourselves, who have done us infinite mischief by the violence, rashness, and often wickedness of their measures. I mean the Bill of Rights people<sup>4</sup>; but who have

<sup>4</sup> The society styled "Supporters of the Bill of Rights," was established in February, 1769, by Wilkes, Sergeant Glynn, Alderman Sawbridge, and other persons, for the most part connected with the city of London. By taking an extreme course, and urging popular demands to an undue length, the society prejudiced, rather than served, the cause of the

thought proper at length to do us, I hope, a service, by declaring open war upon all our connexion. Mrs. Macaulay's performance was what I expected; there are, however, none of that set who can do better; the Amazon is the greatest champion among them. Mrs. Shackleton is very stout in daring to encounter her; but she would find herself unequal, for no heroine in Billingsgate can go beyond the patriotic scolding of our republican virago. You see I have been afraid to answer her. As to our affairs, they remain as they have been; the people, in general, dissatisfied; the government feeble, hated, and insulted: but a dread of pushing things to a dangerous extreme, while we are seeking for a remedy to distempers which all confess, brings many to the support, and most to a sort of ill-humoured acquiescence, in the present court scheme of administration. As to our friends, we continue our old ground; a good harmony subsists, at least in appearance, between the capital members of opposition. Lord Chatham behaved handsomely in rejecting the idea of a triennial parliament, which the jury of London, at the instigation of the Bill-of-Rights men, thought proper to fasten upon

people. They disgusted moderate men, and discredited the whigs, who sought to preserve the balance of the constitution, by opposing the arbitrary measures of ministers.

him in order to slur us, and to get some name of consequence to patronize their madness. I suppose you have seen his answer in the papers. Indeed, the idea of short parliaments is, I confess, plausible enough; so is the idea of an election by ballot; but I believe neither will stand their ground when entered into minutely, and with a reference to actually existing circumstances. If no remedy can be found in the dispositions of capital people, in the temper, spirit, (and docility too) of the lower, and in the thorough union of both, nothing can be done by any alterations in forms. Indeed, all that wise men even aim at is to keep things from coming to the worst. Those who expect perfect reformatations, either deceive or are deceived miserably. Adieu, dear Shackleton. Remember Mrs. Burke, and all of us, with much regard to your wife and your father; and believe me,

Most faithfully yours,

EDM. BURKE.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Gregories, September 8, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

Yesterday Mr. Bullock was elected, without opposition, for Wendover. Mr. Collins left the

place early that morning without standing the poll; after having made fruitless efforts for some days before. By this feeble attempt, I hope the borough is more and more confirmed to Lord Verney; and a few common arrangements will, I trust, be sufficient to keep it so. I wish your lordship joy of another friend in parliament. The event of this election has removed no small burthen from my mind.

I have been informed by the St. James' Chronicle, that the gentlemen of Yorkshire are determined upon a meeting<sup>5</sup>. The advertisement is signed respectably. The circumstance of the sheriff's refusal to concur, seems rather fortunate. It gives an opportunity to show how strongly the sense of the weightiest people of the county inclined against the court doctrine of election and reprobation. I make no doubt that your plan will be judiciously settled, and spiritedly pursued. If no step at all had been taken during the

<sup>5</sup> It appears to have been intended by the Rockingham party, to have resorted this year, as in the last, to the measure of petitions to the Crown for redress of grievances, adverting to the Middlesex election, and other subjects of complaint. A secession seems also to have been in contemplation, and not disapproved of by Mr. Burke. Petitions, however, were but partially renewed, and the secession not carried into effect. At the beginning of this year, the Duke of Grafton had resigned, and Lord North succeeded, as prime minister.



summer, I should be apprehensive that such a stagnation would have been little less than fatal to the cause. The people were very much and very generally touched with the question on Middlesex. They feel upon this, but upon no other ground of our opposition. We never have had, and we never shall have, a matter every way so well calculated to engage them, and if the spirit which was excited upon this occasion were suffered to flatten and evaporate, you would find it difficult to collect it again, when you might have the greatest occasion for it. Opposition is upon narrow and delicate ground, especially that part of opposition which acts with your lordship; you and your friends having exceedingly contracted the field of operation upon principles of delicacy, which will in the end be found wise, as well as honourable. However, the scantiness of the ground makes it the more necessary to cultivate it with vigour and diligence, else the rule of *exiguum colito* will neither be good farming, nor good politics.

I do not take the liberty of throwing out these hints, from any opinion that it is necessary to use extraordinary means to keep the spirit alive in Yorkshire, but from a strong conviction of the propriety at least of extending it to other places, and among other interests, who have hitherto acted with you in this point. People will be

apt to attribute a want of communication to one of these two causes ; either that the business was undertaken in Yorkshire, and carried contrary to your lordship's wishes, or that your confidence is entirely alienated from your political confederates. The former, I take it for granted, cannot be true, and if it were, cannot in policy be assigned as the ground of your reserve. The latter, when you have no complaint to make of the other parts of opposition, might be considered as a style of proceeding less fair than has been usual with your lordship, and would give them the more colourable pretence of complaint, as it is known that the first proposal for a coalition in this business came from your lordship through Mr. Dowdeswell ; and however you might be supposed free to show what reserve or confidence you pleased upon other matters, they would think that they had little less than an actual right to expect communication in all steps relative to the Middlesex decision. If it should be thought proper that other parts should follow the example of Yorkshire, this communication would become the more necessary, that time and means might be furnished for proper dispositions. If your lordship should think it right to let the matter rest upon the Yorkshire proceeding, people may be desirous of knowing the grounds upon which it went so far, and yet was to be carried no further. I am informed that the idea

entertained in Yorkshire is, that of an instruction to the county members. To me it appears that every objection which lay to that method last year exists, with at least equal power, in the present. I say this on a supposition that I have a right idea of the plan of the instructions. A motion to be made in parliament for censuring those who advised the king not to listen to complaints against that identical parliament itself! What arguments could be used in support of such a motion? It really appears to me with a very unparliamentary air. If indeed the members should be instructed to move a Bill for rescinding that obnoxious judgment, and providing in future for the right of election, and if such a bill should not be carried, to decline a further attendance on parliament, this would have a more practicable aspect, in the former part of it, and some appearance of spirit and energy in the latter. The other plan could only appear intended for the purpose of a day's angry debate, and that, in my humble opinion, but upon very indifferent ground. I have gone further than I intended in a matter, in which I am but indirectly concerned, and of which I am but an indifferent judge; but your lordship has often, with great goodness, borne the imprudent officiousness of my zeal. Just as I had written thus far, your lordship's messenger brought me your very obliging letter, which gave me some

insight into matters on which I was a good deal in the dark. If it were a certain thing, that a concurrence would be had among gentlemen to retire from parliament, and to take the sense of their counties upon the subject of that rash ministerial boasting, (which your lordship very judiciously takes it for granted would be used,) to be sure, your plan would revive, much more effectually than that of your friends in Yorkshire, the spirit which, for some time past, seems to have been decaying in every part of the kingdom. But the doubt is, whether the precedent languor would not have communicated itself from the county to the parliament, and to every member of it; I mean to those county members, or to most of those, who act in your system. Possibly what is done in Yorkshire may, when objected to as a *partial movement*, be still a method of bringing things about in a manner agreeable to your lordship's original ideas.

Lord Temple was not at the races—Lady Temple had been taken ill in Dorsetshire. I did not go to these races. I saw Aubrey, who very civilly came to us at our election at Wendover. He told me that Lord Temple rather thought a meeting unadvisable; but that he would take a hearty part in promoting one, provided Lord Verney and we were of a different opinion. I wished Aubrey to inform Lord Temple, that in a business of so



much delicacy, and where such a variety of interests were concerned, no step ought to be taken from complaisance to any body, but from a full and unanimous sense of the prudence and expediency of the measure. Lord Verney agreed to this, though he is much for stirring something. I just saw Charles Lowndes at the same place, who likewise came with the same kind intentions. He is a right man, and, I make no doubt, much yours.

I have seen but few people this summer. Among those few, were some of the courtiers. The court is fully resolved to adhere to its present system; but that if, contrary to their expectation, it should be found impossible to go on with the present instruments, they will send to Lord Chatham, not to your lordship or the Grenvilles. They are well acquainted with the difference between the Bill of Rights and your lordship's friends, and they are very insolently rejoiced at it. They respect and fear that wretched knot beyond any thing you can readily imagine, and far more than any part, or than all the other parts of the opposition. The reason is plain: there is a vast resemblance of character between them. They feel that, if they had equal spirit and industry, they would, in the same situation, act the very same part. It is their idea of a perfect opposition. Will. Burke has seen Lord John Cavendish in town. His lordship is of opin-

ion that some further explanation of the common sentiments of the party would be advisable. Perhaps it may; but I must talk a great deal to you, as well as to him, before I attempt it. It is a business of great delicacy—of infinite delicacy. It is not here a matter of account and calculation—not of a custom-house, and treasury, and counting-house; but a *talk* of liberty and popularity, in which nonsense will always double-distance the utmost speed of experience and reason. How well these villains deserve the gallows for their playing the court-game against us at this season! I had a short note from the Duke of Manchester<sup>6</sup>; Lord Mayer wishes to see me<sup>7</sup>. I take it for granted, it is to know whether you would have any thing done in the city. I must beg some immediate advice from your lordship. The great difficulty will be, to prevent the traitors from bringing in speculative questions to supplant our business. I wish, for the moment, what I never wished before—that I was a freeman of London.

I will write to Dowdeswell; and, if possible, I will be with your lordship at the time you mention. Will. Burke has seen Fitzherbert, who tells him that parliament will not meet in November.

<sup>6</sup> George, fourth Duke of Manchester. His grace resigned his post of lord of the bed-chamber in January of this year.

<sup>7</sup> Right Hon. Barlow Trecothick.

Charles Fox thinks it will. Which is the best authority<sup>8</sup>? I am sorry to hear of the very variable state of Lady Rockingham's health. I hope the settled autumn which seems coming on will be of service to her. Mrs. Burke is coming on tolerably in strength, considering the length and heaviness of her disorder.

I forgot to mention that Lord Chatham has been three days at George Grenville's. He went through Wendover, on his return, the day of election. Be so good as to present Mrs. Burke's, and my humble duty, to Lady Rockingham. Believe me to be, with the greatest truth and attachment, my dear lord,

Your lordship's most affectionate and obliged  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Beaconsfield, September 23, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

I despair of being able to wait upon you this summer in Yorkshire. I believe that, just now,

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Fox was, at this time, a lord of the admiralty, having come into office with Lord North. Mr. Fitzherbert was at the board of trade.

the attempt would be to little purpose. I take it for granted that you will be at Newmarket very shortly. If, in the interval between the meetings, your lordship should come to town, or should wish me to go to Newmarket, or to meet you at your house in Northamptonshire, the ride to the furthest of these places is not very long. I propose to set out on a tour which will carry me towards Mr. Dowdeswell's. If your lordship would have a *conciliabulum*, he would, I dare say, be ready to make one at your place of appointment. I saw the lord mayor a day or two ago. He seemed strongly convinced of the necessity of doing something to remove the ill impressions which were made by the unfortunate candour of one ill-timed speech. He is certainly a man of strong principle and of good natural sense, but his experience in the world is but moderate. There was a fine opportunity lost (the finest in the world) of taking the city out of the worst hands in the world, and of putting it into good ones. I suppose the Duke of Manchester has given you a full account of our first conversation, so that I shall only trouble your lordship with the substance of the last. He had not seen Lord Chatham; but he is determined to speak to him before he calls any meeting of the common council or the livery. This is certainly right; and I think he is equally right in the style in which he proposes to speak upon the subject.



Though he has not seen Lord Chatham, he could easily guess by a conversation he had had with Sawbridge, how Lord C. is disposed. His lordship is earnest that something should be undertaken, but not until the proceedings in Yorkshire are known. It agrees with our idea of taking up the two points of the right of election, and the bringing evil counsellors to justice; but would have something added concerning verdicts and juries. This is, I dare say, by far the most favourite point with Lord Chatham; partly from political views, and partly from his personal animosity to Lord Mansfield. But as the gratification of this animosity and the compassing of those political purposes, are much more his affair than your lordship's, I did all in my power to possess our friend with the absolute necessity of declining to engage in any matter of law, however specious, until we should have an opportunity of consulting those of the profession who act with your lordship. I said that the matter was of so much weight, and those gentlemen of that consequence and character, that it would neither be dignified in the party, nor respectful to your law friends, to engage rashly, and without consultation, in points of such delicacy; especially as it was the characteristic of your lordship and your friends, never to take up any thing as a grievance when you did not mean

in good earnest to have it reformed. He came into these ideas very fully. With regard to the instruction, he says, that he finds it objected to as a feeble and languid measure, preposterously succeeding others of infinitely greater vigour. To be sure, this is one of the obvious evil effects of the violence and precipitation, to call them by no worse names, of some of our late allies, who destroyed the series of all regular operation by beginning with the extremes. However, so the fact is; languor following this violence will be as irregular and as ill-timed as the violence itself, and would be, to all appearance, as injudicious, with less excuse from fervency of spirit. The solution which he proposed was, to add to the first instruction concerning the right of election, a desire that in case the House should persevere in refusing to satisfy the electors upon that subject, their members might discontinue their attendance in parliament. Not knowing your lordship's intentions, I did not undertake to propose that measure; at the same time, as it coincided entirely with my invariable opinion, confirmed by every thing that happens, I could by no means think of opposing it. I suppose your lordship has heard that the "Society of the Bill of Rights" is hastening to its dissolution: *sit illi terra levis*. I say nothing, because I hear nothing

certain of the cause of their violent warlike preparations<sup>9</sup>. In the midst of all this tempest the ministers, I am told, seem much at their ease; they are much out of town, and every thing goes on in a vast hurry without any method or arrangement. Why they have taken these steps, I know not; but I am strongly of opinion, that they do not portend a war, at least, unless the report be true, that a French squadron has sailed into the Archipelago. I have lately read a good part, not the whole, of a pamphlet on the late verdicts. It is called "a Letter to Almon." They give it to Lord Camden. If it be his, I think his rancour far outran his judgment. Though there are good hits in it, and some part, as I imagine, very sound doctrine, he would certainly have answered his purpose much better if he had shown less malevolence and personal enmity in the cause. Has your lordship yet seen it? I wait with impatience the result of the Yorkshire meeting. I hope my Lady Rockingham's health is restored, and that your lordship's continues. All here are well, thank God! With great truth and attachment, I am, my dear lord,

Your ever obedient and obliged friend and  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

<sup>9</sup> Occasioned by the dispute with Spain, on the subject of Falkland's Islands.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND, TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Goodwood, October 14, 1770.

MY DEAR BURKE,

I know not what to say for having neglected so long answering your letter. It is a kind of thing there is no excuse to be made for. I have heard it compared to the incivility of not pulling off one's hat to a man one meets.—Pray take it as such, and that my not pulling off my hat, was from intimacy with you, and not from want of attention.

The true reason for my not writing (exclusive of idleness) is that, as I could not possibly meet you in London, I had nothing to say, having found all trials to bring you down here in vain; and I write now, only to be able to show my face when we meet, which, from the approaching session, I conclude will not now be distant.

The events that have lately happened in Europe will, I think, give the opening of the parliament, and the subjects of debates, a new field, which we ought to meet and consult among ourselves upon, previous to the 13th<sup>1</sup>. Pray let me know what you know of the marquis's motions, and your

<sup>1</sup> The 13th of November, on which day, in 1770, parliament met.



thoughts on the subject. I will be ready to attend you, on any day that is appointed, but do not wish to settle in London much before the meeting. I will say no more, as I write by the post, but what I wish the whole world may know, that I am, with the highest esteem and friendship,

My dear Burke, your most faithful and  
sincere humble servant,

RICHMOND, &c.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO ARTHUR YOUNG, ESQ.<sup>2</sup>

Beaconsfield, October 21, 1770.

SIR,

I am sure you will have the goodness to excuse the trouble I am going to give you ; and to which

<sup>2</sup> It is hardly necessary to state that this and the following letters are addressed to the celebrated author of the Farmer's Calendar, the best informed writer on agriculture of his day. Burke was himself a practical farmer, and delighted in the pursuit. He kept a considerable quantity of land in his own hands, from the time he obtained possession of his seat at Beaconsfield, to the day of his death. Farming, with him, could hardly be called a relaxation ; for he entered into the business with all the eagerness, and with more than the usual information, of those who practise it for a maintenance. He was seldom more intent on any subject than when discussing questions of agriculture with practical farmers in his neighbourhood, walking over their lands, and winning their respect

your knowledge and your communicative character must necessarily make you subject.

When I had the pleasure of seeing you last year, I told you that I had sown about an acre of carrots for a trial. My soil is gravelly-loam, tolerably deep, but, in some places, a little stiff. As the seed was sown late, the ground not very well prepared, and the year in general, I am told, not favourable to that vegetable, my crop was but indifferent. So far with regard to the husbandry of that article: with regard to the economy, the success was worse. I attempted to fatten two middle-sized bacon-hogs with carrots; after having been two months, or near the matter, in the sty, I found, that as they were young, they had grown pretty considerably, but continued as lean as when I put them up. I was obliged to have recourse to barley-meal, and in a short time they became as fat as I could wish, though, to all appearance, no way helped by the previous use of carrots.

He is but a poor husbandman, who is discouraged by one year's ill-success, where he acts upon good authority or pursues a rational principle. Last spring, I sowed two acres with the

and regard, as well by the knowledge he displayed of all the details of their profession, as by the plainness and courtesy of his address.

same seed. The ground had received a year's fallow, one good trench-ploughing, and two or three turnings, in the common way; it was dunged early in the winter, so that the earth was pretty well pulverized, and the dung thoroughly rotted and mixed, by the spring. In the summer they were twice hand-hoed, I fear not sufficiently, but the crop is very large, and the carrots, though not so sightly as the sand carrots, full as rich in colour, or, indeed, rather higher and finer; a most aromatic smell, firm, and admirably tasted. I have sent two waggon-loads to London, for which I had six pounds, fifteen. The back-carriage of coal-ashes has paid my charges. I take it that the crop is, notwithstanding the many and heavy expenses attending it, better than a crop of wheat, according to the usual product of this part of the country. So far I am satisfied. Now comes the domestic use. Somewhat more than a fortnight ago, I put up two porkers of the Kensington breed. They have not made the smallest progress on the boiled carrots, with which they have been fed very plentifully. Last year, the bailiff attributed the failure to the carrots having been over-boiled; this year they have been boiled less; hitherto the event has been the same. The price of barley and peas is this year so high, that I should wish to persevere, if there was the least

chance for succeeding ; as I have a very great quantity of carrots, and the London market will take off only those which have a handsome appearance. Now, Sir, let me beg that you will be so obliging as to point out what degree of boiling the carrots ought to have, or where you may suspect that my error lies. The year is so far advanced, that I scarce dare to beg the favour of seeing you here. I have had a very uneasy summer, from a long illness of Mrs. Burke, or I should have endeavoured at that honour before. Once more I request your pardon for this trouble ; and am, with great truth and esteem, Sir,

Your most obliged and obedient humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

I am to tell you, that whilst I failed in fattening by carrots, I have this year killed one fine porker of 20lb. the quarter, and two of sixteen each. From barley-meal, each fattened perfectly, in little more than three weeks.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO ARTHUR YOUNG, ESQ.

Beconsfield, January 9, 1771.

DEAR SIR,

On finding your letter among some papers that I have been lately turning over, I am much



ashamed to see that I have not answered it. I certainly owed you my best and earliest acknowledgments for the information which you gave me so fully and so readily. I hope you will add to your former civility, by excusing the rudeness, which, however, is not aggravated by a want of proper esteem for your character, or a proper gratitude for your favours.

I am sorry I cannot give you a satisfactory answer with regard to the carrots. I cannot easily form to myself a tolerably correct idea of the profit or loss attending my experiment. A seeding trial ought to have been made with more accuracy. It is scarcely possible for me, with my numerous avocations, to get my servants to enter fully into my views upon these subjects. In the affair of the carrots, I am particularly inaccurate. Much the greater part of them were not vendible in the London market, though just as fit as the others for home purposes; all these, when the bundles intended for sale were sent to London, were brought into an outhouse, thrown into a heap, and given to the cattle and store pigs as they were wanted. This made it very difficult to ascertain their exact value. However, I am satisfied that on the whole, and after making due allowance for the extraordinary charge, I got more by them than I could have done by the best crop of wheat. I am so little discouraged, that I shall

pursue that culture on a large scale next year; and shall then, perhaps, be able to give you a more minute and satisfactory account of my success. The porkers which you saw are still alive; they ate carrots while there were any for them to eat. They grew and throve, but did not fatten. I have since given them barley-meal, and they are now fit to kill, and will be large,—somewhere, I judge, from 80 to 100lbs. each.

I have contracted with a seedsman in Chelsea for early white peas, of which I intend some acres. They are to be drilled. I flatter myself, that they will be off the ground time enough for turnips. At any rate they will clean some fields that want it not a little. I think, in your large work, you have given no very favourable idea of this mode of culture, at least, in some of your experiments. I intend to have about three acres of cabbage. I am much obliged to you for the seed you sent, and if you can inform me where, in London, I may be sure of having the true sort, it will much add to the obligation. I propose also to sow Indian corn, to be cut as green fodder. It is a strong succulent plant; the stalk is particularly good; and, when the grain is just formed, has a pith extremely sweet and luscious; I imagine it must be very nutritive. My horses ate some last year, and with great appearance of liking it.

If I should have a leisure day, next spring, you

may depend upon it, that I have too great a desire of improving in agriculture not to profit by your obliging invitation, and will do myself the honour of visiting you and your farm.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

Mrs. Burke desires her compliments.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO WM. DOWDESWELL, ESQ.

February 1, 1771.

MY DEAR SIR,

You know of the conversation between Lord Chatham and the Duke of Richmond. The great aim of that party is, that you should do nothing that is useful. This will be a trial of firmness between Mr. Dowdeswell and Lord Chatham. If you yield now, the horseman will stick to you while ever you live. If I were to presume to give my opinion, not an iota should be yielded of the principle of the bill<sup>3</sup>, or the principle of the preamble.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Dowdeswell's bill, for explaining "the powers of juries in prosecutions for libels," is here referred to. The parties in opposition differed amongst themselves on this question;—the Chatham voting and speaking against the

In the wording, to be sure, you ought to be practicable. If they choose to break with you upon this point, they mean to break if they cannot tyrannize. I should think the general consultation they propose, after you have promised your bill, is a very dangerous measure. We have few lawyers (none), they have three or four, and men of great authority. We do not want the opinion of lawyers on the propriety and justice of the measure, we may in the conduct of it; and one of their own lawyers has told us, that if a bill is necessary, ours is a good one in point of form. The character of their party is to be very ready to plunge into difficult business;—ours, is to go through with it.

Yours sincerely,

EDM. BURKE.

P.S. I think the Duke of Richmond is in the same sentiments. If you want me before Monday, write your orders to-night, and I will be with you in the evening to-morrow. If not, on Monday in the House.

Buckingham. Mr. Dowdeswell brought forward his bill on the 7th of March of this year; when it was lost by 218 against 72.



DAVID GARRICK, ESQ., TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

May 3, 1771.

CARISSIMO MIO EDMUNDO,

The bearer, Mr. Aylward, is a very great musician, and organist of St. Michael's, who had your interest (as he tells me) upon the occasion. He is ambitious to be the musical professor, I think they call it, of Gresham College. As twelve patriots of the city are to elect him, whose interest can be of half the service to him as your honour's? If our friend Mr. William and you can give him a lift to the intrepid Wilkes, the resolute Oliver, or the wiser Trecothick, you will oblige me, and serve a very worthy, able musician, who has been served by you already. I therefore, according to custom, trouble you to serve him again. I would have been with you in person, but, dining yesterday with an archbishop, I have got the gout in my knee.

Yours ever and ever, and most affectionately,

D. GARRICK.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

July 31, 1771.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am heartily affected with the subject of your last letter. I had a true honour and affection for that excellent man<sup>4</sup>. I feel something like a satisfaction in the midst of my concern, which I had not in the same degree before, that I was fortunate enough to have him once under my roof before his departure. He was indeed a man of singular piety, rectitude, and virtue; and he had, along with these qualities, a natural elegance of manners, which nothing but genuine good nature, and unaffected simplicity of heart can give, and which they will give infallibly, be the exterior forms what they will. I read your enclosed letter with sentiments very different from those of disgust. How could you think I was capable of taking offence at your expressions? Men, according to their habits and professions, have a phraseology of their own, perhaps the fittest for expressing their particular feelings, or for conveying them in the most intelligible manner, to those

<sup>4</sup> Abraham Shackleton, the father of Richard, and Burke's schoolmaster at Ballitore.

they usually converse with. As to the sentiments themselves, they are such as all good men, I trust, are perfectly agreed in; and surely it is hard if we quarrel for a difference in language, when difference in opinion ought to be far from disuniting friendships much less closely cemented by time, affection, and esteem, than ours are at this day. You make us very happy with the hopes of seeing you here;—can it be this summer? My wife, who has, I think, at length perfectly recovered from her long illness, will receive you with most cordial satisfaction, and I think I shall, without doors, entertain you with the view of a very fine country. Our friend William, who is, indeed, truly your friend, too, will make the party as agreeable to you as he can. He felt a great tenderness at the particular affectionate manner in which you mentioned him in your letter. He is, thank God, here, and well. Mr. Vansittart, and Mr. Ford, and Scraften, were the only supervisors for the company on board the unfortunate Aurora. As to poor Richard, for whom you inquire so kindly, and who, I am sure, loves you as well as I do, which is as much as any friend you have in the world,—he is still in the West Indies, but was well when we last heard from him. He has got a leave of absence, so that if you should come to us before the winter, you will probably find him here. He has made a

considerable purchase in the West Indies. Government disputes it with him for the present ; but if he prevails, as I trust he will, his establishment will be considerable, and he will be under no necessity of making a long stay in that remote and disagreeable part of the world. As to news, we have little. After a violent ferment in the nation, as remarkable a deadness and vapidty has succeeded. The court perseveres in the pursuit, and is near to the perfect accomplishment of its project ; but when the work is perfected, it may be nearest to its destruction, for the principle is wrong, and the materials are rotten. Among those in opposition, there has been of late a good deal of boulding ; and some bran, to be sure, the court have got. This is not singular, and is too common to be provoking. I rather am surprised to see so many stand firm ; but the firmest are those who were the least noisy, and those whom the vulgar considered as the least in earnest. But this, too, is generally the case. I am glad you know Ridge. I take him to be one of the honestest and best-natured men living, and inferior to none of his profession in ability and knowledge. I am sorry you should have occasion to put these qualities to the proof ; but if you do, they will be exerted very effectually and very faithfully. My boy is at Westminster school. He has good dispositions,



and is getting very forward. Mrs. Burke and Mr. W. Burke wish most affectionately to be remembered to you. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me most truly yours,

EDM. BURKE.

Zouch desires to be remembered to you. I hope your son remembers us. I assure you we remember him with real regard, as he seems to be a very amiable and ingenuous young man.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO ARTHUR YOUNG, ESQ.

Beaconsfield, September 10, 1771.

DEAR SIR,

I am extremely thankful to you for the valuable present which you have made to me and the public. I could have no doubt of the excellence of the work, from my knowledge of the preceding parts; but I could not make my acknowledgments for my share of the general obligation to you, until I had gone through these last volumes. I have read them with much pleasure, and, I should say, with improvement too, if a part of the merit of improvement did not rest with the learner. You have completed a work surely much wanted, a general and comparative view of agriculture as now practised in England, and have brought into one point of sight, so many and so interesting parti-

culars, that I cannot think that any mistakes (unavoidable in such a work) can materially affect its value. To say there are errors here and there, is only to say that you have undertaken a work of vast extent and intricacy. You have done me a great deal too much honour, in mentioning my feeble infantine attempts in husbandry among the labours of so many finished cultivators. My carrots, last year, were remarkably fine. I sold as much as brought fourteen pounds, and I am convinced that if I had understood Covent Garden market so well last year, as I do now, I should have sold the same weight for near thirty. Those which were not fit for that market contributed to the fattening of two or three steers, and supplied my store-pigs plentifully through a considerable part of the winter. This was no contemptible advantage from two acres of ground, though cultivated at some expense. No ground on the farm answered in the same proportion. It is true that I did not find that root to answer in fattening of hogs; but it is not doing it justice to say, that the pigs showed no difference for a considerable time after their confinement. The fact is, that they grew wonderfully, and looked remarkably sleek. I had nothing to regret in the cabbage, but the want of more. Whilst this food lasted, the cows gave milk, for the season, plentifully. The butter was some of the best I ever

tasted ; in colour, smell, consistence, and flavour, equal to the finest May butter. The different accounts you have received in this particular were, I believe, owing to the different species of cabbage used in the experiments. It is possible that cabbages which grow into head, are of a more rank and oily quality than those which shoot into leaves. Mine were of the latter kind. This year I shall experience the effect of the headed sort. I have about two acres and a half under that plant. I have transplanted from the garden at different times, in order that I may have food for my cows in succession from the beginning of January, when my aftermath is consumed, to the beginning of summer, when the grass comes in again. I am afraid I rather speak too boldly, in supposing that the cabbages of so small a field will carry me through the winter, but none but the cows which are fully in milk shall have any share. The others must content themselves with straw, as you have advised very properly. Undoubtedly, cows fed with hay in winter are a dead loss in husbandry. What must be the consequence of such economy when hay is at the present price, or at a much higher, to which it will probably rise this winter? To give you some idea of the failure of grass this year, at least in this part of the country, I had the preceding summer an hundred and ten loads of hay ; this last, but forty-

four. My pastures have had thirteen head of cattle, and above a score of sheep, fewer than in the summer of 1770; yet those that remain are very little better kept. I do not intend to send carrots to market this year. I have sowed something more than the space you saw, when you did me the honour of a visit. They are, in part, sowed in the same ground. The season was unfavourable both for ploughing and hoeing; the earth was far from being well tilled, yet the crop, though inferior to that of last year, is far from contemptible in promise. I attempted about a quarter of an acre of carrots for seed; but what will appear surprising, the hares not only ate off the tops as fast as they appeared, but pulled the transplanted roots out of the ground and consumed the whole. On the spot which thus failed I have tried a new experiment. I sowed some pumpkin-seed in little dunged hillocks; though I was rather late in this trial, and the season not very favourable, they have grown to a very great size, and are so numerous, that I have little doubt they would pay better than turnips, at an expense in cultivation not at all greater. My error was in setting the hillocks much too far asunder. My experiment of the cultivation of that species of the wild parsnip which they call *hog-weed*, did not answer. The seed was bad, and none came up. I sowed the ground, after waiting a sufficient



time for the appearance of my new hopes, with buck-wheat. I think you have carried a little too far the success of my experiment in the folding of ewes. I have never folded them upon my arable grounds. They have been folded only on a dry pasture, and that only until the time of their lambing approached. However, I have not the least doubt that they would bear folding very well under any circumstances. I only say I have no experience of it, further than a small folding upon pasture ground, and on that I have not found it a very great improvement. Nothing, with me, improves grass ground like ashes, though I have tried a very great variety of manures. As soon as harvest is over, and you let me know at what time I may wait on you without being troublesome, I shall pay my respects to you at your farm. I am with great regard and esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO ARTHUR YOUNG, ESQ.

October, 1771.

DEAR SIR,

I should certainly, before this, have done myself the honour of visiting your farm, and have endeavoured to profit by what I should see, and much more by what I should hear at it, but that the hourly, and hitherto constantly disappointed expectation of my brother's arrival from the West Indies has detained and still detains me at home. I don't, however, altogether despair of the pleasure of paying you my respects before the winter sets in. I have now gone minutely through your last tour, and the synopsis, with which you have so properly and judiciously closed it. Some things of moment are, I think, clearly and decisively ascertained; but still a cloud remains over some of the most important and interesting questions in husbandry; and you are too far removed from the unfairness of system-makers, to turn our eyes away from that cloud when you are unable to dispel it. It appears such as it is; and you have not called in the aid of fancy and opinion to supply the want of real knowledge. One of the grand points in controversy (a controversy indeed, chiefly carried on between practice

and speculation) is that of *deep-ploughing*. In your last volume you seem, on the whole, rather against that practice, and have given several reasons for your judgment, which deserve to be very well considered. In order to know how we ought to plough, we ought to know what end it is we propose to ourselves in that operation. The first and instrumental end is to divide the soil; the last and ultimate end, so far as regards the plants, is to facilitate the pushing of the blade upwards, and the shooting of the roots in all the inferior directions. There is further proposed a more ready admission of external influences, the rain, the sun, and the air, charged with all those heterogeneous contents which are suspended in that great universal menstruum, some, possibly all, of which, are necessary for the nourishment of the plants. By ploughing deep you answer these ends in a greater mass of the soil. This would seem in favour of deep-ploughing, as nothing else than accomplishing, in a more perfect manner, those very ends for which you are induced to plough at all. But doubts here arise, only to be solved by experiment. First, is it quite certain that it is good for the ear and grain of farinaceous plants, that their roots should spread and descend into the ground to the greatest possible distances and depths? Is there not some limit in this? We know that, in timber, what makes one part

flourish, does not equally conduce to the benefit of all ; and that which may be beneficial to the wood, does not equally contribute to the quantity and goodness of the fruit, and *vice versâ*, that what increases the fruit largely, is often far from serviceable to the tree. Secondly,—is that looseness to great depths, supposing it useful to one of the species of plants, equally useful to all ? Thirdly, though the external influences, the rain, the sun, the air, act undoubtedly a part, and a large part in vegetation, does it follow that they are equally salutary in any quantities, at any depths ; or that though it may be useful to diffuse one of these agents as extensively as may be in the earth, that therefore it will be equally useful to render the earth in the same degree pervious to all ? It is a dangerous way of reasoning in physics, as well as morals, to conclude, because a given proportion of any thing is advantageous, that the double will be twice as good, or that it will be good at all. Neither in the one, or the other, is it always true that two and two make four. Fourthly,—there are other properties in soil, besides its looseness or tenacity, which may make it dangerous to apply earth of certain properties to the plants, by deep-ploughing. The minerals, in general, seem unpropitious to vegetation ; some clays seem to be of the same noxious quality, and this, if true, makes an exception to deep-plough-



ing upon bottoms mixed with such substances, supposing the principle of deep-ploughing to be otherwise generally sound. Under this head, comes the general objection of farmers against ploughing up the dead earth, or going beyond what is called the staple; that is, that body of dark-coloured mould, which seems to be in part formed of rotten vegetables and animal substances. All these are doubts and questions not to be passed over lightly; especially the last, because it comes from men of much experience, and is not a local objection, from the particular nature of a certain substratum, but supposes an universal inaptitude in all soils, beyond a certain depth, for the purposes of vegetation.

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CHARLES TOWNSHEND, ESQ.<sup>5</sup>, TO EDMUND  
BURKE, ESQ.

New Bond Street, October 15, 1771.

DEAR SIR,

I met Fitzherbert last night, and talked to him about the subject of our late conversation. I told

<sup>5</sup> Son of the Hon. Thomas Townshend, and brother of Mr. Thomas Townshend who was afterwards created Lord Sydney. This gentleman was appointed a junior lord of the treasury, upon the coming in of Lord North's administration in 1770.

him, that I had heard that he had asserted that you were the author of Junius's letters, for which I was very sorry, because, if it reached your ears, it would give you a great deal of concern, as there was no person in the world for whom you at all times expressed a greater regard and friendship. He assured me, that he had only said that the ministry now looked on you as the author, but that he had constantly contradicted the report whenever it was mentioned in his company, particularly yesterday and the day before, to persons who affirmed that you were now fixed on as the writer of those papers. He declared that he was convinced in his own mind that you were not concerned in the publication of them, and that he had said so, that evening, to Major Mills, who seemed to him to suspect you. This last circumstance has struck me the more, as I have very strong suspicions, from the internal evidence of the paper itself, that the letter signed Zeno, in the Public Advertiser, comes from some of the major's friends. Fitzherbert seemed very much chagrined at this report, and protested that he had never said anything that could be construed to charge you with having the least hand, either directly or indirectly, in writing or publishing the Letters of Junius, and that he agreed with me entirely, that there were no reasonable foundations for the suspicions of the ministry. He added, that he had heard, that

you had always disowned the letters to your friends in private conversation. I did not inform him that I had seen you, or that you had mentioned this subject to me. I think that you may be satisfied with Fitzherbert's conduct in this affair, and I do not find that any fair and candid man, with whom I have conversed, believes that these letters are written by you.

My father, and the family at Frognall, present their best compliments to you, and are much flattered with the thoughts of seeing you there.

You will be so good as to present my best respects to Mrs. Burke and all friends at Gregorys, and believe me to be, with great truth,

Your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

CHAS. TOWNSHEND.

P.S. We have a report, but I believe a premature one, that Wilkes and Townshend have fought. Wilkes' answer to Townshend's letter will appear in the paper to-morrow.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO CHARLES TOWNSHEND,  
ESQ.

October 17, 1771.

DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged to you for the kind part you have taken, on the report of our friend Fitzher-

bert's conversation about the author of Junius. You have done it in a manner that is just to me, and delicate to both of us. I am indeed extremely ready to believe, that he has had no share in circulating an opinion so very injurious to me, as that I am capable of treating the character of my friends, and even my own character, with levity, in order to be able to attack that of others with the less suspicion. When I have any thing to object to persons in power, they know very well, that I use no sort of managements towards them, except those which every honest man owes to his own dignity. If I thought it necessary to bring the same charges against them into a more public discussion than that of the House of Commons, I should use exactly the same freedom, making myself, in the same manner, liable to all the consequences. You observe very rightly, that no fair man can believe me to be the author of Junius. Such a supposition might tend, indeed, to raise the estimation of my powers of writing above their just value. Not one of my friends does, upon that flattering principle, give me for the writer; and when my enemies endeavour to fix Junius upon me, it is not for the sake of giving me the credit of an able performance. My friends I have satisfied;—my enemies shall never have any direct satisfaction from me. The ministry, I am told, are convinced of my having written Junius, on the



authority of a miserable bookseller's preface, which I have read since I saw you, in which there are not three lines of common truth or sense, and which defames me, if possible, with more falsehood and malignity, than the libellers whom they pay for that worthy purpose. This argument of theirs only serves to show how much their malice is superior to their discernment. For some years, and almost daily, they have been abusing me in the public papers; and (among other pretences for their scurrility) as being the author of the letters in question. I have never once condescended to take the least notice of their invectives, or publicly to deny the fact upon which some of them were grounded. At the same time, to you, or to any of my friends, I have been as ready as I ought to be, in disclaiming in the most precise terms, writings, that are as superior perhaps to my talents, as they are most certainly different in many essential points from my regards and my principles. I am, with the greatest truth and affection,

My dear Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

I only wait my brother's arrival to pay my visit to Frognall.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE BISHOP OF  
CHESTER <sup>6</sup>.

Fludyer Street, November 9, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

You will have the goodness to excuse this second trouble, on the disagreeable subject of our last Thursday's conversation. The discourse naturally spread out into great extent and variety, with regard both to things and persons. This may tend to embarrass the single point I had in view, and the single light in which I desire it may be considered. I spoke of the many stories I had heard; but as it is possible that their authority may be disputed, I give no great attention to them, and rather request that no sort of mention may be made of them. If your lordship should choose to speak to Lord Mansfield, I wish you would inform him, that though I perfectly despise the attempt of the court-writers to fix upon me performances to which I am a stranger, as a colour for the infamous abuse they throw upon me so systematically; yet, that I do find myself extremely hurt in perceiving that his lordship has not thought proper to discountenance the blending a vindication of his character with the most scurrilous at-

<sup>6</sup> Dr. William Markham, afterwards Archbishop of York.

tacks upon mine ; and that he has permitted the first regular defence that I have ever seen made for him to be addressed to me, without the least proof, presumption, or ground, for the slightest suspicion that I had any share whatsoever in that controversy.

I am not such a child as to suffer myself to be persuaded that the writers of these papers are not in the pay of the treasury ; I cannot conceive it possible that Lord Mansfield can be ignorant of the existence of such papers. I cannot believe that he does not know they are written in a style injurious to me. The public does certainly think that, being written by persons apparently zealous for his honour, they are not disagreeable to him. There is no man who can doubt that the slightest intimation from his lordship, that such a mode of defence was displeasing to him, would long since have put a stop to the impudent licence of the instruments of administration.

It may be magnanimity in Lord Mansfield to despise attacks made upon himself ; but I cannot conceive it essential to that character for his lordship to suffer his vindication to be converted into a vehicle of scandal upon a person who has hitherto been, at least, not his enemy.

I beg to be understood, that I do not speak as being in the least affected by the *general* hostility of the writers of these papers, or their employers,

which I hope I have in some degree merited, and which I wish them to continue, as some sort of proof that I have not been inactive in the performance of my duty.

I am, with the, &c.

EDM. BURKE.

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CHARLES TOWNSHEND, ESQ., TO EDMUND  
BURKE, ESQ.

London, November 20, 1771.

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry to trouble you again upon a very disagreeable subject. I met a friend of mine the day before yesterday, who told me that our friend Fitzherbert had vindicated you from being the author of Junius's Letters, with great sincerity, but in so awkward a manner, that he rather increased than removed the suspicions of the company with whom he was conversing, that you were really the author. The person to whom his conversation was particularly addressed, observed that, according to Fitzherbert's account, as well as from the report which he had heard of your conference with the Bishop of Chester, and from the letter which you had written to his lordship, you had only offered strong reasons to prove that nobody ought to suspect you of being concerned in those



papers; but that you had *never positively declared in express terms*, that you were neither *directly nor indirectly* engaged in the publication of Junius's Letters. The person who mentioned this to me seemed to be convinced that you were not the author; but said that this circumstance, supposing it to be true, made many of those with whom he had conversed doubt about the matter. He had heard, but he did not speak from authority, that Bishop Markham had expressed his surprise that you had not absolutely denied, in positive words, the authorship. I do not recollect the particular expressions in that letter which you showed to me, though the main purport of it seemed to convey to me an absolute denial. In your letter to me, you say that you have "*been as ready as you ought to be, in disclaiming, in the most precise terms, these writings, &c. to me and to all friends.*" You can best judge whether you should satisfy Dr. Markham, if it be true that he has any doubts, and whether you should again positively disclaim these letters to me or to any other friend. Objections have been started by one or two persons, to whom I showed your letter to me, that the words which I have recited do not in themselves contain a direct denial of the fact. At the same time they admit, that adding them to the circumstance of your having in private conversation, to which they seem to refer, positively disclaimed the author-

ship, nobody can expect a more precise and ample disavowal of the matter which your enemies lay to your charge. I took the liberty to relate this whole business to your cousin, Mr. William Burke, who advised me to write to you. I took his advice, as I thought it proper to mention these objections to you, after you had been so kind as to place so much confidence in me upon this occasion.

Sir J. Lowther failed in his first action against the Duke of Portland. He was non-suited upon an objection made by one of the judges to the validity of Sir James Lowther's grant, as far as relates to Inglewood Forest. The duke is in great hopes of success in his other action, which, however, is not of so much importance.

I am, dear sir,

Your most faithful, humble servant,

C. TOWNSHEND.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO CHARLES TOWNSHEND,  
ESQ.

November 24, 1771.

DEAR SIR,

I received your letter at the proper time, but delayed my answer to it until I had twice consulted my pillow. Surely, my situation is a little

vexatious, and not a little singular. I am, it seems, called upon to disown the libels in which I am myself satirized as well as others. If I give no denial, things are fixed upon me which are not, on many accounts, very honourable to me. If I deny, it seems to be giving satisfaction to those to whom I owe none and intend none. In this perplexity all I can do is, to satisfy you, and to leave you to satisfy those whom you think worthy of being informed. I have, I dare say, to nine-tenths of my acquaintance, denied my being the author of Junius, or having any knowledge of the author, as often as the thing was mentioned, whether in jest or earnest, in style of disapprobation or of compliment. Perhaps I may have omitted to do so to you, in any formal manner, as not supposing you to have any suspicion of me. I now give you my word and honour that I am not the author of Junius, and that I know not the author of that paper, and I do authorize you to say so. This will, I suppose, be enough, without showing my letter, which might have the air of being written for the satisfaction of other persons than I mean to give it to. I wish the satisfaction of fair or friendly men; it would be vain to look to others. Most heartily I thank you for your friendly attention, and your good news; and am, with great truth and affection, &c.

EDM. BURKE.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO \_\_\_\_\_<sup>7</sup>.

1771.

MY LORD,

When your lordship is pleased so severely to censure almost every part of my conduct and character, I should be without all comfort if my conscience did not as clearly acquit, as you have decisively condemned me.

I assure you, I wish to stand well in your opi-

<sup>7</sup> This paper, (the draft of which is corrected in Mr. Burke's own handwriting,) is in the form of a letter, which, judging from internal evidence, was doubtless addressed to Dr. William Markham, then Bishop of Chester, and afterwards Archbishop of York. It appears to be in answer to a letter of remonstrance from the bishop on Burke's public conduct, couched in no measured language, as the quotations given in the reply sufficiently prove. Mr. Burke's indignation at this unexpected attack does not however appear to have been of permanent duration; as it is well known that subsequently to the date of this correspondence, the parties were on the same friendly terms as previous to it. But this paper being a powerful and successful vindication of the writer's character, manners, and conduct, (not only so freely impugned in the communication to which it is a reply, but wantonly and maliciously attacked in many publications of the day,) it has been thought but just to his memory and reputation to give his defence to the world. It is to be regretted that the draft is not quite complete; and that the letter to which it is in reply has not been found among Mr. Burke's papers.



nion, and do not, even now, easily reconcile myself to the loss of it. I will, therefore, my lord, first endeavour to clear myself of that great and prolific fault, the source of so many others, with which your lordship charges me,—the “*not bearing to receive instruction from my friends, and not being able to distinguish admonition from reproach.*”

My lord, when your lordship informs me, (using what you tell me is the “language of the world,” and adopting that supposed language,) “*that such arrogance in a man of my condition is intolerable;*” your phrase does, to my poor understanding, imply some contempt of my condition, and a very ill opinion of my temper and character; and, therefore, might pass with a man professing no better than mere human feelings, as reviling rather than advice. I say nothing of the term of “ridiculous folly,” and that suppressed epithet which is so very easily supplied, and can be supplied by none but a very offensive term.

These, my lord, and some other expressions, together with a general sweeping censure of my whole conduct, might well make me consider your lordship’s letter as designed to mortify, not to instruct me. The former effect, whether you intended it or not, it did most perfectly accomplish.

You think I ought to show myself more of a philosopher in bearing such treatment. It is cer-

tain I have endeavoured, all my life, to train my understanding and my temper in the studies and habits of philosophy. In some few things, I fancy I am grown almost a stoic; but your lordship's unkindness has attacked me on a side on which I was absolutely unguarded, and I bear it like a girl.

If I do not act a proper part in life, it is not, as your lordship is resolved to suppose, for want of sufficient admonition. If my enemies had been silent, (your lordship knows they are not,) there are those of another description near me, who behold my faults with all the anxious sensibility of real affection. They are not more disinterested friends and sanguine advocates, than they are strict and faithful monitors, that keep watch on every action of my life. Such are those very persons whose warmth your lordship supposes to scare away truth from approaching me. Let those who see them and me together, judge between your lordship and them. But passing them by, whenever your lordship did me the honour of your advice, if I was not always prudent enough to profit of it, be so good as to recollect what expression of heat from me attended the occasion, or what distant and unfriendly coldness followed it. Till the moment of your letter, do you remember a single angry word that ever passed between us?

Your lordship has fixed a period for your ceas-

ing to exercise that part of the office of friend which consists in counsel. Pardon me, my lord, your goodness has been much more extensive than you imagine it. I could put you in mind of another obliging interposition of your advice, a good while after that period, and on a point, too, of public conduct; I mean the advice you gave me in relation to the payment of the civil-list debts. It is true, I was of an opinion different from that of your lordship, and acted upon my own; but you must know that, very soon after, (as soon, indeed, as I could see you,) we were apparently, as we ought to have been, on the very best terms that can be imagined.

Your lordship, looking about for my faults with more solicitude than I deserve to be honoured with, rests in particular upon my having been formerly "hurt at your advice, to bring down the aim of my ambition to a lower level, and not to look at an office," to which, it seems, at one time I had aspired. I don't recollect the conversation; very possibly your lordship did give me some such advice. Presently I will speak to the matter of it; but you will think, I dare say, on comparing facts and circumstances, that I could hardly have been seriously angry with you on that occasion; for if I was not angry with those who gave me neither that office nor any other office, but if, on the contrary, I have adhered to them with the

most zealous and affectionate steadiness, in all their fortunes, is it to be conceived that I could show any real resentment to your lordship,—my close and confidential friend,—only for advising me not to look upon only one of those objects, none of which I could obtain from my ministerial friends? No,—my lord ;—the thing is impossible ; your memory must have failed you. But if your lordship would persuade any body that my feelings on that occasion could bear a resemblance to those which tear my heart to pieces on this,—here are your two letters ;—and if this were your usual style of admonition, will mankind be astonished if I always felt it on the naked nerve, and with the quickest and sorest sensibility? But it was not ;—it was far from it. You never said such things, and I never had feelings, in any sort, like my present. Yet even now, with such letters on my table, am I irritated to any improper rudeness, or do I go an inch beyond the immediate matter of my grievance?

I know not what is contained in private cabinets, but I have never seen published in any collection, in any age, one resembling those which I have received from your lordship, except one which was written as a letter of consolation from Sir Francis Bacon to Lord Chief Justice Coke, upon the latter's falling under the displeasure of the court. This consolatory epistle does almost



come up to the asperity of your lordship's late letters to me.

So far as to my impatience of admonition : now, as to the conversation relative to Lord Mansfield. I must beg you, my lord, not to suppose me capable of that "jejune, puerile, inconclusive, disjointed reasoning" you attribute to me. Be so obliging as to distinguish in my conversation with you at Kew-green, the two most different things in the world ; the reports which I related as the first causes of my uneasiness, from the matter I wished you to touch in your discourse with Lord M. as what appeared to me irrefragable presumption, equal to proof, that his lordship did not discourage these attacks upon me. It is very true, that your lordship did not think I had any ground to be displeased with Lord M., and you did frequently divert the argument from the presumption I mentioned as my ground for complaint, to the town-talk which I related to you merely as matter of conversation. On that account, and on that only, and to prevent that confusion of distinct matters into which (whatever I could do) I saw you inclined to run, I wrote your lordship the letter you mention, and which you do not condemn.

But, under favour, what I asserted of your lordship's not having shown any disapprobation whatsoever of the style and temper of my message, which afterwards raised such a storm, is strictly

true. Your lordship does not dispute this fact; it made the whole of my assertion, and your letter demonstrates the truth of it. As to the particular communication or message, I really think it more agreeable to the statement given in my last letter, than to that mode in which your lordship recollects it; but this being a matter of memory, your lordship is at liberty to take it even in your own way. Let it stand in the broad glare of light into which you have put it, and I can hardly think that Lord M. himself (the very party concerned) could hold it so shocking an offence, that, considering myself (though at a very respectful distance) his friend, I thought it not right in him to suffer me to be abused in a manner beyond all example, as the author of libels upon him, when I was sure he might have prevented it; and that he ought not to be surprised if I acted no longer in that character. My situation was ridiculously vexatious; publicly abused on one side for the civil things I did say of him, and on the other, tore to pieces for attacks which I never made upon him.

I hope I am not mistaken; but I would not put to the account of civility to Lord Mansfield any thing that ought not fairly to be entered to that article. In my parliamentary vote, I never have consulted any thing but the intrinsic merits of the measure itself, or its extrinsic tendency to

do good or evil upon the whole. For this, he is no ways obliged to me, but I have more than once gone beyond the necessity of my argument to speak as handsome things of him, as the extent of my very limited powers would allow. My kinsman, Mr. William Burke, has done the same.

If Lord Mansfield (I do not know that he is) be exalted on one side, in such transcendent stateliness as utterly to disregard my civilities, I hope his dignity is evenly and equitably balanced; and that on the other side, he could not violently resent the threat (as your lordship calls it) of discontinuing those civilities on which he sets so slight a value. This is but the equality essential to a great character. But if he be as wise a man as I think him, and such a lover of fame as he declares himself to be, he will not agree with your lordship in imagining the public testimony of an honest man, (not of the less value if that man should take totally a different line of politics,) to be so "very contemptible in the possession, or so very ridiculous in the loss;" nor will he consider it as so "horribly unnatural" in any man who thinks that his voluntary and disinterested civilities have been met with injurious returns, if he, in his anger, should "threaten to withhold them" in future. Few persons are altogether so stately, and I trust your lordship is mistaken in your opinion of Lord Mansfield.

But supposing that my message (as your lordship calls it) were as ill-conceived and improper as you state it, you were under no necessity of delivering that message. You did not deliver it; you were not obliged to deliver any message at all. The whole passed in private conversation between us two. How could this justify that torrent of reproach with which, on cold deliberation, you have chosen to overwhelm my manners, disposition, principles, connexions, friendships, and relations; the whole tenor of the public and private conversation of my life? Was *this* necessary, my lord? Most men, in my situation, would think it an opportunity eagerly taken, but not very happily chosen, of breaking by a quarrel a long friendship, which, if the contrariety of our sentiments made it no longer agreeable, in wisdom ought to be rather gently and gradually unravelled, than to be so very rudely and unartificially rent asunder. This, you know, was the advice of one of our great masters in the science of life and morals, upon occasions of this unhappy nature.

I have done, for ever, with this business. In whatever light it appears to your lordship, most people would think it a trifling error at the worst. But your second letter has opened a much higher order, and a much greater number and variety of charges against me. These are, indeed, so very grave and so very numerous, that you have given



me a right to be a little burthensome and tedious to you in my answer to them. That answer ought to be full and satisfactory: first, because I had already frequently vindicated myself on several of these subjects. You remember the accusation perfectly, but, by some accident very sinister to me, you absolutely forget the defence. I think it, therefore, necessary to place it distinctly and permanently before you; in order that a memory, in this one instance a little imperfect, may not be the means of misleading the best judgment in the world.

In the next place, I would not, for any consideration, that my son should happen to meet such horrid offences charged on me, and on his nearest relations, by my seventeen years' friend, (—by the very person who answered for him at the font—) without letting him know that I was able to say something in our defence. I would not have him come into life, oppressed by my imputed faults from my reputed friends; that the innocent child may know, as I trust the world will know and acknowledge, that he has not crept into it from an “hole of adders,” to which your lordship (I leave you to feel with what humanity and justice) has thought proper to compare his father's house.

My lord, I may have very little to leave him but the character, the friends, I would add (if I

did not fear your lordship's charge of arrogance) the example of his father. It is most essential to him that these should not be rendered vile, cheap, or odious, in the opinion of mankind. In order to do him this indispensable justice,—in order to leave this little inheritance clear and unencumbered to him, I will consider your lordship's heavy accusation under the three heads into which it seems to be divided.

First,—my conduct in conjunction with my political connexions; secondly,—certain matters which your lordship charges to my particular account; and lastly,—the various crimes which your lordship has collected from the private conversations of my nearest friends and relations. To all these I shall answer fully, distinctly, and, I trust, satisfactorily.

Your lordship, assuming the persons of others whose opinions you do not condemn, considers the measures of my party, “in which I have been so forward to take a lead, as running the extreme line of wickedness.” This is what your lordship states as the description of our measures; and as to our morals, you describe us, (still stating the opinion of others, of which you express no disapprobation,) “as persons who first used their sovereign basely, and then sought their justification in slandering his character.” Heavy charges, both on persons and actions!

My lord, if by accident you believe that such charges, on such men as compose our party, are groundless,—pray, why could you not imagine with equal justice, aided by a little of not unbecoming partiality, that my particular part in those actions, reported from the same bad authority, was not more blameable than that of the rest of our party? But if your lordship (as you seem to do) rather inclines to give credit to these imputations, then, my lord, I do freely and cheerfully take my share in the measures. I take it with such numbers and such persons, both of our own and other bodies, that I am as well defended as respectable authority and lawful example can make me. Your lordship ought to pity me, under the influence of so plausible and irresistible a seduction.

But, my lord, I do not secure a presumption in my favour, merely in the number and weight of the present *opposition*. If we have “run the extreme line of wickedness,” there are but few now in his majesty’s service who have not pushed us very hard in the race. Some have gone over one part, some another; some almost over all the course, along with us. I can recollect but a very few who can escape much better than I can, unless error is to be rectified by inconsistency of character.

Whenever your lordship, or any body else,

shall distinctly specify any one of those measures, be it what it may, I will engage to call out some person now high in his majesty's service and favour, to whom I will commit the cause, who must either disgrace himself or fully vindicate our proceedings. If you do not harshly censure this ministerial advocate, permit me to say, that your lordship's justice must necessarily suffer us to escape. It is not, I am sure, the fortune and situation, but the actions of men, which become the subjects of your indignation. I am really afraid to join in your lordship's censure of our conduct, lest I should lean too heavily on some respectable persons in authority, and thus again become taxed with "ill-treating some of the highest people in the kingdom."

You do not think I am going into the business of six years,—this is infinite. No;—I shall go upon general but very satisfactory grounds. If the measures we have carried into legislative acts be so extremely wicked, why does not the court, with the power of the nation in their hands, redress the mischief by repealing our acts and regulations? If the measures we have proposed and lost were so wicked, we were wicked only in the intention, we have failed in the act. If the nation likes our proceedings, it enjoys the benefit of them. Posterity must judge of their intrinsic value, and of the prudence, the reach of thought,



the decorum, consistency, moderation, and justice, with which they were conceived and conducted, from the beginning to the end.

Upon the merit of the ministerial conduct, that of the opposition must finally stand or fall. The matter of some part of it is not left to the representations of those that your lordship lives with. I must suppose you have not read the grounds upon which the opposition to some of the capital measures of administration have been justified; works which ought to be perused by every one, before he peremptorily attributes "the extreme line of wickedness" to the conduct of large bodies of men.

As to "my forwardness in taking the lead in the measures of the party," I am not sure that I perfectly understand the nature of the charge. I am no leader, my lord, nor do I ever answer for the conduct of any one but myself. If your meaning be that I commonly make the motions, or am forward in laying the grounds for opposition, your lordship is certainly misinformed. I generally speak, in justification of the vote I am to give, very late in the debate. But if, by *forwardness* and *lead*, you mean nothing more than that I do, with all my heart, all my soul, and all my strength, support the measures I believe to be right, the fact is undoubtedly true. But before the fact

itself, or the earnestness with which it is pursued, be clearly censurable, the measures must be proved to be wrong, or to be unimportant. My lord, it is not my interest in my own case, nor my disposition in any case, to receive the assertions of my enemies as competent proof of either; and as yet I have heard nothing else.

After stating by an aposiopesis, the force of which mode of speech no one better understands than your lordship, that our party has "run the extreme line of wickedness,"—in the same mode you speak of them as having "used the king basely, and then seeking their justification in slandering his character."

My lord,—in one thing you do me great justice. You say that my opinion differs very widely from your's upon this subject. It does indeed; it differs as widely as the remotest extremes can differ. To speak fully to the point is difficult; to be wholly silent, impossible. The charge is heavy, and it is as general as it is heinous. Like the former, on the measures of the party, it points to no one circumstance of action, time, or place, which can particularize it. No defence can, therefore, be made, but by opposing to it the denial of both the propositions of which the charge is compounded; and by showing, as far as general presumptions can go, the utter improbability of the

existence of any truth in either of them. Indeed, my lord, you have been cruelly abused and imposed upon. I am sure I shall think myself happy, if the subject of my defence, however it may fail for myself, may be obliquely and accidentally the means of undeceiving you, in a mistaken opinion of the best characters in the kingdom.

Before I say a word further, I must observe that your lordship is the very first from whom I ever knew that such a charge was made. I never heard it in any conversation ;—I never read it in any of the numerous publications on the part of the court. I have always heard Lord Rockingham and his friends censured for a behaviour, rather too reserved and managed for the purposes of opposition. But I make no doubt that such discourses as you mention are held. They are held very improperly. They are held with more mischief to the persons, in whose favour they seem to be uttered, than even to those whom they intend to injure.

Will you permit me to speak on this business with a frankness suitable to its importance. Indeed, my lord, his majesty's servants have, in my humble opinion, made too free with the sacred name of their master, both in their apologies for themselves, and in their accusations of others. I wish the gentlemen of the court to consider seriously how well they consult an honour in which

we have all of us so great an interest, and in which they have so peculiar and religious a trust, when they can affirm that Lord Rockingham and his friends have treated the king basely.

By the tenor of the sentence, I must conclude that this charge of base treatment is fixed at the time when Lord Rockingham and his friends had the honour to serve the crown. Your lordship will recollect that Lord Rockingham was called into the closet a full year after his removal from office, and pressed to resume it with large offers for himself and for his friends, and even with powers still more extensive. Do these persons, so affectedly zealous, reflect in what manner they consult the personal glory of their sovereign, when they represent him as showing such favour to, and putting such confidence in, those who were capable of treating him with *baseness*? Do they, in such a charge, consult the future connexion that ought ever to exist between the *glory* and the possible *interest* of their master, in case the convenience of his service should, once more, induce him to call any of those eminent persons, who are charged with having treated him basely, into employment? But if they choose, on a supposition of the validity of the charge, to suppose that such an arrangement is impossible, is it then altogether for the king's advantage to persuade such and so large



bodies of men, that they are proscribed, and, as it were, disinherited by the common protector and father of all his subjects?

Besides, let me say, that though on every account the character of the sovereign ought to be preserved inviolate, and that, too, with the utmost care and tenderness, yet there are other characters to be preserved also; characters in which, though the subject has not an equal, he has yet a very considerable interest. Your lordship will hardly think it altogether prudent, (I will go no further, for I dare not return a word of the hard language I received,) wantonly to toss great names in people's faces, in order to put them out of countenance, and to oblige them either from shame to abandon their defence, or from warmth to say things which may be misinterpreted into a criminal disrespect. The former is hardly fair in argument, nor is the latter in morals, though it often may be meant innocently, as in this case I am ready to believe. It has the air of insidiously drawing men upon dangerous ground, in order to entrap them on it; and this, if I were in your lordship's place, and armed with your authority from station and knowledge, I would certainly say to those who have the levity to hold such discourses.

I would also submit to your lordship's consideration, whether it be right to set the people upon too many inquiries into these matters, that trench

so nearly upon anecdote? Certainly, my lord, the last thing the people of England will suspect in Lord Rockingham and his great friends, is any thing whatsoever of baseness, either done or suffered. They will inquire whence and how this surprising charge has arisen; and possibly, in the course of such an inquiry, their censure may fall not lightly upon those who are capable of abusing either their ears, or the ears of their sovereign, with such a gross charge upon the best subjects that he has.

Any prince might glory in having such subjects. He might well rejoice in finding that the persons who have always been the truest to the succession of his family, are most distinguished among his people for their unspotted honour and integrity, for their disinterested love of their country, and for every virtue, public and private. No wise king of Great Britain would think it for his credit to let it go abroad that he considered himself, or was considered by others, as personally at variance with a Lord Rockingham, a Duke of Richmond, a Duke of Portland, an Earl of D——, the families of the Cavendishes, with a Savile, a Dowdeswell, and a very long train of names, who are the ornaments of his country in peace, and to some of whom he owes some of the greatest glories of his own, and his predecessor's reign, in all the various services of the late war. The public

will not lightly believe, that the close connexions of the late Duke of Newcastle and the late Duke of Cumberland, have been capable of using basely a king of the Brunswick line.

As little will any one credit the other part of the charge, that they sought their justification in traducing his majesty's character. Till this day they have never heard of this charge of base treatment, and, therefore, most certainly never could be put to this justification. But if you mean that they use it in defence of their measures in opposition, surely you cannot imagine that they are so miserably put to it for argument, as to have no other way of defending themselves but by traducing any character whatsoever. If they are alleged to have used such justification in parliamentary debate, the time and occasion ought to be marked. If in writing,—the piece ought to be shown, and ought with some probability to be carried home to them. If in conversation,—the informer ought to appear, and make good the matter he relates. In no other way than one of these three, can these persons have committed the offence your lordship mentions to be charged upon them.

Avoiding all offensive terms, or any kind of recrimination on their accusers, I simply say they deny the truth of the charge, and I trust nobody can bring a shadow of proof for it. I am sorry

that amongst your lordship's numerous friends, you could find no one man under personal obligations to the leader of that respectable party, who might long since have removed those impressions from your lordship's mind, and rendered my poor defence unnecessary.

I have said all I mean to say in vindication of my having gloried in my political connexions, and in the part I have taken along with them. My principles, indeed the principles of common sense, lead me to act in *corps*. Accident first threw me into this party. When I was again at liberty, knowledge and reflection induced me to re-enter it; principle and experience have confirmed me in it. Your lordship will find it difficult to show where a man, who wished to act systematically in public business, could have arranged himself more reputably. By arranging myself with them, I trust I have given some sort of security to the public for my good behaviour. That versatility, those sudden evolutions, which have something derogated from the credit of all public professions, are things not so easy in large bodies, as when men act alone, or in light squadrons. A man's virtue is best secured by shame, and best improved by emulation in the society of virtuous men. Most of my public proceedings have been in the strictest concurrence with that party; and to your lordship's candour and mature consideration, I



hope I may safely leave both the party and its proceedings.

I now pass to the separate account you have opened with myself, for matters of my own private conduct. Here, my lord, you accuse me of maltreating the greatest men in the kingdom; you particularize, &c. &c., and you seem to think that I have not sufficiently “distinguished myself from useless declaimers who are valued only for bear-garden talents;” and that I have given the world an “impression of me, as a man capable of things dangerous and desperate.”

This is the peculium of blame, which your lordship has portioned out to me, and separated from the common stock. Pardon me, if I think you have your accounts of me from men of little moderation;—indeed, from a kind and class of enemies, far below the common generosity of that adverse character. Has your lordship then found me, in the innumerable conversations that we have had together for many years (which I now remember with a melancholy pleasure), an “useless declaimer” and distinguished by “bear-garden” talents? If your lordship has not found this in my conversation, (you will not affirm that you have,) why will you so easily give credit to those, who assert that I am of another character wherever you do not happen to see me?

My lord,—I have written some trifles. They are, indeed, full of imperfections, but they are not alto-

gether “useless declamations;” nor have they, I think, a great deal of the scurrilities of the “bear-garden.” Some of them are written, too, on a subject of public controversy. But there I am safe enough. What a man writes, defends or accuses itself; what he speaks, is but too much at the mercy of narrators, and I have fallen amongst the very worst of that odious band.

Hypocrisy is no cheap vice; nor can our natural temper be masked for many years together. I have not lived, my lord, at any period of my life, nor do I live at present, in societies where the talents your lordship alludes to are in any sort of request. I live, and have lived, in liberal and humanized company; who, as they could never endure such a character, would be infinitely surprised at this imputation upon a person whom, at least, they tolerate.

As to some little occasional sallies out of serious business, which you have been ready to commend in other men, and which, when not ill-executed, have been commended by all ancient and modern critics, I am sure they are not without their use in popular debates. For my own part in them, I can only say, that if I could receive any comfort under your lordship’s displeasure, I have the consolation not to be equally ill-thought of by every body. You know, I am sure, a person of rank<sup>s</sup>,

<sup>s</sup> The Earl of Chesterfield.

long removed from public business in which he had much distinguished himself, and who was equally distinguished for the elegance of his manners and the well-bred felicity of his wit, has a great deal more than once repeated, without any very harsh censure, some of the trifles which less grave occasions have drawn from me in the house. He has even condescended to say most obliging things to myself upon the subject. That person, I assure your lordship, is not so poor in the resources of real politeness, as to be driven to supply his deficiencies out of the fund of ill-placed flattery. He is no way connected with me, in party or otherwise. He is too considerable to be one of my admirers; and all I shall say is, he did not find in any of my little pleasantries, the relish of that celebrated academy from which your lordship is pleased to derive them.

The attacks I have made are specified to be on Mr. Grenville, Mr. Rigby, Sir William Bagot<sup>9</sup>, and Lord Barrington<sup>10</sup>. You could lengthen, you say, the catalogue;—certainly you could; for I have had rather more altercations than are mentioned in this list, and your lordship as certainly

<sup>9</sup> Sir William Bagot, member of parliament for Staffordshire, afterwards Lord Bagot.

<sup>10</sup> William Wildman, Viscount Barrington, at this time secretary-at-war, an appointment which his lordship held for many years.

supposes me the aggressor in all of them. As to the first, I only desire, in common justice to me, and even to Mr. Grenville, that his court friends will not be too superfluously kind to his memory ; that they will not resent any injuries done to him, for which he had no resentment himself. Perhaps your lordship does not know, that I had the honour of being on the best terms with Mr. Grenville, which continued uninterrupted to his death ;—that he gave to my kinsman, William Burke, and to me, a pressing invitation to his house in the country ;—that in his house in town, upon a business too which most people would think delicate, we had a long conversation, wherein, without any dereliction of principle on either side, we settled the matter to mutual satisfaction ; and that he afterwards was so obliging as to enter upon a very curious and interesting conversation, relative to many of the most essential particulars of his ministry and life. His brother, Lord Temple, is known to cherish the most affectionate reverence for his memory. I have the pleasure to assure your lordship, that I am at this instant in intimacy and on terms of friendship with Lord Temple, who most assuredly would not do me that honour, if he thought my difference in opinion with him, or his brother, had ever carried me to lengths unjustifiable among gentlemen.

As to my supposed attack on Mr. Rigby, your



lordship is then of opinion that, of course, I must have been the aggressor, and that it is impossible the known urbanity of Mr. Rigby's style of debating could have given just offence. I am at your lordship's mercy on the subject, and no disculpation can avail me; only I am to do justice to the very handsome behaviour of your friend, Mr. Rice, on that occasion.

Sir William Bagot, my lord, made two several wanton and utterly unprovoked attacks upon me: I did nothing more than repel them; the first time with great good humour, at neither time with ill-temper or ill-manners. On the latter occasion, Lord John Cavendish, a man not more remarkable for his firmness than his great moderation, interrupting my defence, declared if I had not spoken on the first occasion, he would have done it himself, and have taken nearly the same ground. Sir William Bagot seemed sensible that he had gone too far; he made some apology for it. I could name a line of witnesses to you on this business, above all suspicion of partiality to me, who know I was not the aggressor in the beginning of the dispute, nor the most bitter in the prosecution of it; and whether, on the whole, I did any discredit, on so unexpected a provocation, to my own character or to good manners, the House, who heard me with every mark of approbation, must judge. Since that time I have often met Sir William Bagot on various

business, and neither of us appeared to have any remembrance of the altercation. But my offence, it seems, is perfectly recorded elsewhere, along with the rest of my indelible transgressions.

You are kind enough to tell me, as the end of the list, of my execrations of Mr. Yorke during his last illness. I wish, my lord, you had not put my patience and prudence to so sore a trial. But they will endure even that test. No man honoured Mr. Yorke, living and dead, more than myself. I hold his memory in a reverence that is almost superstitious. I know him to have possessed a wonderful erudition in all kinds. I knew him to be a person of the purest principles and morals, and of a strict and punctilious sense of honour, and that he was one who felt for fame with but too fatal a sensibility. Let me add, that I have myself a large part in his loss: he was much my friend. I say so, because I should count it impious to distrust the frequent professions of regard which I had from him. When your lordship gives me leave to know, that you hold me utterly incapable of the base act you charge upon me, I will tell you what it was that gave rise to that most malicious of all calumnies. Till then, I must content myself with assuring you, that the story, as you have heard it, is absolutely false.

Now, my lord, at the black tail of this black catalogue of accusations, let me stir up the prin-

ciple of candour, which all this slander has, for a moment, smothered in you, and ask you seriously, whether you believe that, in coming into the House of Commons, "I entered like a wolf into a fold of lambs;" and with ferocious and savage fury, "snapped now at one, now at another" of those meek and passive creatures, without mercy, fear, or shame?

Does not your lordship think it possible that, in such a place, where such matters are agitated as will call out all of the wild beast that lurks in human nature, there are other animals with fangs and claws besides me? Does your lordship think it absolutely incredible, that attempts might be made to *pull me down*, and that I may have been necessitated to make some strong efforts to *keep myself up*? Do you seriously think that the understandings of your narrators are better disciplined in the duties and decorums of public life than mine? Do you imagine that they are not equally liable to passions similar to mine, which may mislead them in the representation, possibly in the conception of my conduct? Have they not interests far more considerable than mine, which may as naturally bias them from the straight line of their duty? You were "overborne," you say, when you did me the very great honour of becoming my advocate, "by the number of charges against me." I am sorry that you threw up your

brief so early, and that I lost, on such an insufficient ground, all the advantage of your lordship's goodness and ability; because it is evidently not the *number*, but the *truth* of the charges, that ought to prevail in any equal tribunal. If it should be otherwise, nothing will save me, either now or in future; for you may be very sure that, as many as my actions are, just so many will be the charges of my enemies. Did your lordship ever hear of a man, acting in public, who was free from them? If I were, with all expressions of tenderness, friendship, and compassion, to write down but one-half of the language of their enemies, concerning any given public persons whom *you* know and esteem, I am very much afraid, if I sent it to you, your lordship would think it little else than a libel; if I sent it to any of *themselves*, you would think it a gross insult.

Suppose that one of the best friends they have, were to make such a collection, for the instruction and entertainment of Lord Chatham or Lord Mansfield, the Duke of Grafton or of Lord North. They are greater men than I;—they have the advantage of their dignity. Worse things have been said of them. Your lordship does not think that the eminence of their station ought to make the hearing of truth less necessary to them, or make it less proper for them to hear it with temper. In what light would you consider



such a communication to these persons: even though it were made lest they should happen not to be apprised of the tone of their enemies, or be unacquainted with the language of an uniform series of five years' daily newspapers?

I know well enough what my enemies say: I know too what my conscience answers to their malice. My public conduct, co-extensive with my largest relation, must be my glory or my shame. Has your lordship found one single part of it to be praiseworthy?

If I act in party, you more than insinuate that the party runs the extreme line of wickedness; if I act alone, then I have some wickedness of supererogation beyond that line; some eccentric crimes to answer for. In every altercation I am the aggressor; my debate is declamation; my railing, the bear-garden; in my motions, I show myself capable of things dangerous and desperate; the daily conversations of my friends and relations, are guilty of all the malignity of treason; my house, by the deductions of no exceptionable logic, easily taken for an hole of adders.

My lord, all this and more, are your sentiments of me, I trust expressed in anger, and in the vehemence of a mistaken zeal; from which no talents, nor situation, will always exempt even men of piety and virtue. If, indeed, you censure many material parts of my little public

system, I do not wonder that you condemn the whole.

My principles are all settled and arranged, and indeed, at my time of life, and after so much reading and reflection, I should be ashamed to be caught at hesitation and doubt, when I ought to be in the midst of action, not as I have seen some to be, as Milton says, "unpractised, unprepared, and still to seek." However, this necessary use of the principles I have will not make me shut my ears to others which, as yet, I have not, only I wish to act upon some that are rational.

"I ill-treat the first men in the kingdom." If you show me that in no case this may be my duty, I will confess I am in the wrong. I am a respecter of authority; but, my lord, I execute my share of an important magistracy; and I conceive that it may happen to be part of my office to accuse, and even very ill-treat, the first men in the kingdom. Would your lordship have me so treat clerks in office, who transcribe letters, or sergeants of the guard, who execute orders?

"I attacked Lord Barrington:"—I did so; and, let me add, I attacked Lord Weymouth as much as him; and I attacked Lord Hillsborough<sup>1</sup> as much as either, though on another ground. But I did this in a regular, sober, constitutional man-

<sup>1</sup> Ministers of the crown, in the administrations of the Duke of Grafton and Lord North.

ner. However, I bear your censure the better, as I am absolutely satisfied that, to this minute, you neither know a single ground on which I made the attack, nor the temper with which I conducted myself, in any of the proceedings upon which you charge me. I never made more than two motions. As to that on St. George's Fields, I did in effect repeat it; and I never slept so happily as after I had discharged myself of that accusation. I now give over the pursuit, not as blameable, but hopeless. It was, indeed, very nearly what your lordship calls it, a proceeding "dangerous and desperate;"—desperate as to hope of success,—dangerous, as it has been a means of forfeiting your good opinion. To its object it proved very innoxious; it has not diminished a shilling of Lord Barrington's salary. But if it had succeeded, I have no doubt that very salutary effects to the public would have followed from it.

I acted to the best of my judgment. It would be hard to find a bad motive for my conduct in this particular. I am a man of none but civil talents, such as they are; and I can have no views from a state of disorder and confusion; no, not more even than your lordship.

Your lordship tells me "it is not what pretensions I may have, but what the world will choose to allow me." What pretensions, my lord, am I making to any thing that the world has to allow

or to refuse? I make no pretensions, my lord, but those which, with God's blessing, no power can take from me; those of doing my duty agreeably to my own ideas, within the laws of the land, and the rules and orders of the body to which I belong; and I will do that duty with such vigour, or such remission, as I may think will best answer the purpose of my trust. If by pretensions you mean places, I solicit none, and I really think I never shall; though I would very gladly serve the crown, and be of use to my own family, if I could do it with honour.

Your lordship, whose mean opinion of me I lament, but cannot avoid, formerly thought it (as you now tell me) insanity *in me* to look to an employment then vacant. This matter of mad ambition give me leave to explain.

Lord Rockingham, as you observe, and as I knew, was on the point of being turned out of office. I had observed, what I might do without great sagacity, that the having filled any considerable place, did raise the credit and authority of men much higher than any other circumstance whatever. Looking for what has happened,—a long minority, I thought the name of such an employment might be of some use, for (as your lordship may, if you please, guess) I never meant to keep it. However mad this idea may have been, it only floated on my mind. I talked to a



friend or two, and beat the thing backward and forward in conversation. The ministry was changed a very few days after. It was no formed project:—I never so much as spoke to Lord Rockingham upon it;—this he knows,—and there is the whole of my madness.

Your lordship at that time, you say, advised me to make “a seat at the board of trade my object.” I dare say you did, though I confess I forget the conversation. It is undoubtedly a very honourable employment, and much above my deserts;—if the parallel was only between that office and those deserts. That place was, however, not my object; among other reasons for *one* that was very obvious,—that there was then no vacancy. The employment, to which I wished the nomination, was open.

Your lordship thought, and still seems to think me insane, in wishing that employment upon another idea;—because I had then only been private secretary to a minister. This oblique insinuation I might leave where I found it, if I did not think that your lordship grounded your opinion on very mistaken principles, whatever the merit of the particular matter then in question might have been. I must, therefore, beg leave again humbly to express my sentiments, though they should again be treated as the effect of phrensy.

I did not ground my pretensions on any sup-

posed rank of private secretary. This employment I knew, as well as any body did, formed no pretension ; because it was no known office, nor bears any rank whatsoever in the state. But I conceived then, and still do so, that the rule of preferment in the offices of this kingdom, is not MERE *official gradation*. The rank in office is to be rated by the rank which men hold in parliament, and by that only. This rank, though not exactly definable, is very easily understood ; and the name and thing have been much in the mouths of all public men. If the rule of official rank were any other, the consequence, according to my ideas, would obviously tend to the utter relinquishment of any but the most slavish and passive conduct, in all those who ever look to the service of the state. Indeed, it would be fatal to the state itself.

On your lordship's standard I must have very low hopes, or none at all. I have no more official pretensions now than I had the first hour of my election. I therefore, my lord, refuse to admit your lordship's rule, and I am authorized not only by reason but by practice. Many have made their first step as high as that you allude to, and much higher, and all from parliamentary, not official ground. I do not name them, for fear of your lordship's censure of arrogance in the comparison. But, my lord, other gentlemen held

actually that very office afterwards which I wished for only in designation ; who, though I very highly respect them, I will not believe stood higher on parliamentary ground than I did.

I think, my lord, very poorly of Ned Burke or his pretensions ; but, by the blessing of God, the just claims of active members of parliament shall never be lowered in the estimation of mankind by my personal or official insignificance. The dignity of the House shall not be sunk by my coming into it. At the same time, my lord, I shall keep free from presumption. If ever things should stand in such a situation as to entitle me to look to office, it is my friends who must discover the place I hold in parliament, I never shall explain it. Rank is not my object for my own sake, I assure you ; for if ever I were to ask for employment, (as I shall not,) vanity would not be my guide in my requests. Some service to my own honest interests, and to those of others, would be my rule. For I protest most solemnly that, in my eye, situated as I am, and thinking as I do of the intrinsic dignity of an active but independent member of parliament, I should look upon the highest office the subject could aspire to, as an object rather of humiliation than of pride. It would very much arrange me in point of convenience ; it would do nothing for me in point of honour.

To purge away all further symptoms of insanity, in not admitting your lordship's rule of official gradation, permit me to say, that even at the time you allude to, I was not very young, but as much a man as I am now, and as fit for any kind of business. I was as little inclined to the course of changing about with every wind, without regard to men or things; and when you combine these two circumstances, of time of life and some aim at uniformity of conduct, the madness would be in acting upon the ground taken from official gradation, and not from parliamentary rank; even if such ground had been thought of in this country, or that rule had been laid down for any man in it except myself. My friends know whether I have harassed them with requests, or whether my pretensions ever deranged their business, or disturbed their quiet. Till they complain, every one else, methinks, may well be silent.

I could say a great deal on the ground of men's pretensions in this country, but there is more than enough for both of us. Your lordship has compelled me to speak more than I wish, upon places and employments. It is a subject not often in my thoughts, nor likely to be greatly my concern, even though your lordship has removed the terrors of the proscription which hung over me, by securing me an asylum in my native insignificance. This humble cottage, which is not



to be shaken even *pulsante Cæsarea manu*, I take refuge in most joyfully. Your lordship is so condescending, to offer to enter it along with me, but I beg you to go no further than the door; it is, indeed, a sort of lodging as unsuitable to your dignity as to your abilities.

Your lordship tells me that my ideas of that proscription had arisen only from my imagination having outrun my judgment. I have no such races between my imagination and my judgment, as your lordship, who speaks the language of my enemies like a native, is pleased to suppose. They have no king's plate before them to animate the contention. They are a pair of slow and orderly beasts of very little figure, but fit enough to draw together, and, I trust, to pull themselves and their poor master out of all the mire into which our enemies have endeavoured to plunge us. It was neither my arrogance, nor my irregular imagination, that induced me to think as I did. Your lordship told me "that I might *put it out of the power* of any *possible* administration to serve me." Who is there but the king, who can restrain the powers of any possible administration? And when you assured me that "this was *most certainly true*," I did believe you said it upon some good authority; I did not say whose authority it was. It was, my lord, my ignorance of courts, not my arrogance, that made me put this plain interpretation upon

plain words. For, knowing those of high place only by hearsay, I have read, that monarchs in former days had sometimes been, by advisers very unlike themselves, induced to turn the tremendous majesty of their resentments on objects as low and unworthy as myself. Your lordship will, therefore, pardon this error, in which there was nothing worse than, what is inevitable to a man of my condition,—a want of knowledge of the great world. This probable proscription that I had so much dreaded, I am now, it seems, only to understand as your lordship's own conjecture, arising from the favourable light under which you have been, for some time, accustomed to behold my conduct. As to "your having no pain in doing ill-natured things," I knew and felt a man of the very reverse character; but in your lordship's letters, I know nothing of my old friend but the handwriting, which I know but too well.

After giving the testimony of my enemies, as grounds of charge against me, your lordship comes to their assistance, towards the close of your letter, with a little of your own; and this too for a purpose, which, even after all I had read, did not a little astonish me. It was in justification of the libellers for having fixed on me as the author of Junius, from a resemblance which your lordship supposes my house bears to "an hole of

adders." My lord, I am sorry to find that these writers have so able an advocate, which, though they stand in need of, I have not at all the charity to wish them. But since these worthy gentlemen are under your lordship's protection, I say not one word against them, except that, in this instance, they did not reason logically, nor draw their conclusions in any good form. For, passing that most obliging simile of "the adders' hole" as not in strict argument, I did not "furnish the premises" your lordship supposes; and if I had, the conclusion of these gentlemen was irregular. For, supposing all your lordship says was not very greatly mistaken, how does it follow from the *discourses* of *my* friends, that I am the author of Junius,—as these worthy persons peremptorily assert? Let me advance a step further, and suppose that the discourses which your lordship charges on my friends were not *theirs*, but *my own*; it must be proved that *no other* persons have held similar discourses, before the *singular* proposition of the conclusion could be valid against me. Hardly as your lordship thinks of us, you will scarcely assert that we have *a monopoly of such discourse*. Indeed, there is no putting this argument in any way in which it will do; and I must still think as I did before, that these gentlemen or their employers did not act in a manner altogether justifiable in drawing such a conclusion, from any premises

with which your letter supposes them to have been furnished. Nothing but your good-nature, which is always in existence, but, unfortunately for me, transferred to my worst enemies, could make you entertain a better opinion of that sort of logic.

My lord, this part of your letter is indeed very serious. The crimes are high,—the accuser of great authority,—and the persons accused my nearest and dearest friends. You would think me, I am sure, the basest of friends, the worst of brothers, and the most unworthy and unnatural of all men, if I took in very good part, and as an act of kindness, your lordship's charges against them.

My lord, Mr. William Burke<sup>2</sup>, the first you set to the bar, has had the closest and longest friendship for me; and has pursued it with such nobleness in all respects, as has no example in these

<sup>2</sup> Mr. William Burke was under-secretary of state in the office of General Conway, who came into administration with Lord Rockingham in 1765. General Conway did not go out with the marquis the next year, but continued to hold his employment under the Duke of Grafton until 1768. Mr. William Burke continued in office with his chief, until finding the latter was separating himself from the Rockingham party, to which Mr. Edmund Burke remained firmly attached, he resigned his post of under-secretary in 1767. It has been before mentioned, that it was through Mr. William Burke's introduction to Lord Verney, Mr. Edmund Burke obtained his return for Wendover.



times, and would have dignified the best periods of history. Whenever I was in question, he has been not only ready, but earnest even, to annihilate himself; and he has not been only earnest but fortunate, in his endeavours in my favour. Looking back to the course of my life, I remember no one considerable benefit in the whole of it, which I did not, mediately or immediately, derive from him. To him I owe my connexion with Lord Rockingham. To him I am indebted for my seat in parliament. To him it is I must refer all the happiness and all the advantages I received from a long acquaintance with your lordship. For me he gave up a respectable employment of a thousand pounds a year, with other very fair pretensions. He gave up an employment which he filled with pleasure to himself, with great honour to himself, and with great satisfaction to his principal in office. Indeed, he both held and quitted it with such a well-arranged discharge of all his duties, that a strict friendship subsists between him and the principal he left, from that moment even to this, amidst all the rage and confusion of parties. But he resigned it to give an example and an encouragement to me,—not to grow fearful and languid in the course to which he had always advised me. To encourage me, he gave his own interest the first stab:—*Pæte, non dolet*. This, my lord, was true friendship; and if I act an honour-

able part in life, the first of all benefits, it is in great measure due to him. He loved your lordship too, and would have died for you,—I am thoroughly persuaded he would. He had the most ardent affection for you, and the most unbounded confidence in you. If there was any difference in his regard for you and me, it is, that there were certain disparities which made him look up to you with greater reverence. Such a friendship can grow in none but a soil favourable to, and producing every kind of virtue; and, accordingly, he has nothing like a fault about him, that does not arise from the luxuriance of some generous quality. Do not “disinherit your son” for any thing Will. Burke is capable of doing. I look with pleasure and with the most auspicious hopes, and with, I am sure, very unaffected good wishes, on your growing family. But if I was their father, my prayer in their favour would be for half his virtues. I would ask for no more, because I would wish a good man to be happy and prosperous in the world.

My lord, I owe this honest testimony, all I can return, for a friendship of which I can never make myself deserving. As to him, my lord, I am not capable of telling you in what manner he felt your charges. He answers nothing to them; he only bids me tell you, that never being able to suppose himself in a situation of serious contro-

versy with your lordship, much less as the culprit in a *criminal accusation* for a matter of *state*, brought by *you* upon his *private* conversation, he knows not what to say. He is at your mercy. He really cannot put his pen to paper on this subject, though he has two or three times attempted it. Permit me, my lord, on this very serious head, to lay before your lordship a very few matters for your consideration. I feel myself as averse to stating this matter to your lordship, in a style of controversy, as my friend is incapable of it. Will your lordship, then, have the goodness to consider that the conversations of your friend, to which your lordship gives, in your passion, such very hard names, have passed entirely *between you and him*, that they have passed in the freedom of friendship,—in the openness of the most unreserved confidence. Is it true, that no one was witness to any thing capable of such a construction, out of the inmost recesses of your own family? Does your lordship recollect, that there was any stranger present in any mixed company, either at your house or elsewhere, who heard any such conversation? Now, my lord, if there be no such witness out of your own family, (*te consule,*) might it not be rather the entire confidence that Mr. Burke reposed in your honour, than any indiscretion, which had induced him to enter with you into topics in themselves delicate and extremely capable of

misconstruction? I never will believe the loosest flow of the heart, in all its temporary feelings, to be indiscreet in conversation with you.

My lord, there is another consideration which I would beg leave to submit to you upon these supposed culpable conversations. I believe, if you call to mind times and circumstances, you will find that there could scarce have passed any private political conversation between Will. Burke and your lordship for near three years. A very hard statute was made concerning words, in the reign of King Charles the Second; but hard as it was, it limited the prosecution to be within  
\* \* \* \* \*<sup>3</sup>; otherwise, the statute would not have been hard but intolerable, and the reason is extremely clear. Words are fugitive; and the lapse of a little time may cancel such a variety of explanatory circumstances in the mind of the party accused, as extremely to enfeeble, perhaps entirely to destroy a very full defence. Besides, the memory of the informers

<sup>3</sup> This blank in the manuscript is, of itself, almost a proof that the letter never was sent; as the writer would not have failed, before sending it, to state positively the statute to which he referred. He probably had in mind the 22nd Charles II. c. 1.—“For preventing and suppressing seditious conventicles;” which provides that no person shall be prosecuted for any offence against it, unless *within three months* after the offence committed.



may be full as fallacious as that of the party charged. If he has not set down the words, their true spirit may well have escaped him; if he has, it furnishes a very just presumption that he has stored up this invidious matter for so long a time, not for the purposes of justice, but of malice. Your lordship will tell me that you are not now making a charge in a court of justice. Very true; but permit me to say, that the equity and reason of these rules ought to be carried into all personal reproaches and revilings for supposed similar offences so long passed. When any person has not, *at the time, expressed any disapprobation of these discourses*, every principle of justice precludes him, and ought to stop his mouth for ever. Your lordship does, in effect, admit that you heard without any marks of disapprobation, discourses to which your lordship now gives appellations that, for your own sake, I cannot bear to repeat. You say that a “dislike of altercation and a respect to your profession,” hindered you from expressing your sentiments at the time. May I presume to differ in this point, and to think that it was so far from being contrary to the duties and decencies of your sacred profession, that nothing was more strictly within both, than to give grave and sober counsel upon such occasions, to those with whom you condescended to live. If the immediate moment was too sudden, or the parties appeared too warm,

advice upon the next day would have been prudent from a wise man, proper from a friend, charitable from a divine,—full as much so (pardon the weakness of my judgment) as to keep charges of this kind in your own bosom for upwards of two years, and then to produce those charges for the first time, in the spirit and language of the bitterest reproach, not against the speaker of the words, but against a third person, (myself,) in order to aggravate accusations against *me*, which you have carried on with much earnestness, though without any provocation, real or pretended.

My lord, there was no reason drawn from profession or temper, (I beg leave to say,) for your silence and your forbearance at that time, that does not, as strongly at least, subsist against your reproaches and your warmth at this. If you thought these conversations unadvised, it was a reason for advice; if you thought they argued depravity, it was a reason for rupture. Far from it. After, long after, any period you can assign for such supposed conversation, much intercourse has passed between Will. Burke and your lordship; and I do not remember that you have treated our common friend, at any time of our long acquaintance, with warmer demonstrations of affection; some of which, when you please, I will point out to your lordship's recollection. I therefore am obliged to conclude, that your lordship's memory has not

done its office quite perfectly on this occasion; and that the discourses which passed so long ago, were of a different nature from what you consider them in the moment of your present zeal and warmth.

As to my brother, I am bound to do him justice at the very least. He is too near to me to make it decent for me to speak what I think of him, and which others would say with more propriety and with equal pleasure. I assure you, my lord, his majesty has not those who serve him in the highest, as he does in the lowest capacity, who are better affected to his government, or more capable of doing it honour or service. My lord, he heard with great astonishment, and some feeling, your lordship's criminal accusations, so heavy in the matter and unmanaged in the epithets. He would immediately have answered for himself, but I interposed, and took it into hands very equal to it, for it stands in no need of skill or ability. First, my lord, I must observe, as in the case of my kinsman, so in that of my brother, not one of the persons who make the charges upon me, do allege his conversations as the cause. This is your lordship's own,—peculiar and appropriate. My lord, please to recollect, in the next place, that no *late* discourses of his could possibly give offence, or furnish ground for the late presumption against *me*; for the justification of which presumption your

lordship has referred to those supposed discourses of his. He is but just returned to the kingdom, after an absence of two years. He was actually not returned to England at the time when this hue and cry of the court was raised against me. So far as to the late *presumed* public conversations; in which, my lord, it is simply,—not improbable,—but absolutely impossible he should have been the cause and ground of recent accusations against me.

But if your lordship supposes that the impropriety and publicity of conversations in former days, has made such an impression as to produce this effect at such a distance of time, be so good as to recollect the extreme improbability of the charge. A great part of the time he spent in England was, from a melancholy accident, passed in his bed or chair; some time he spent in Ireland. My lord, his acquaintance beyond my closest connexions is very limited. Who of those makes this charge upon him? Who is it that charges him, except your lordship? You, indeed, proceed against him in a manner, in which I do not so readily recognise your lordship's natural and usual generosity. You bring a charge upon him which, in your way of making it, it is impossible, in case of the most perfect innocence, that he should be able to refute. The charge (dropping the handsome epithet) is not for indecorum, or indiscretion, but for *falsehood*. The only de-



fence, therefore, (if the fact of the words were once admitted,) would be to plead that the words were *true*. My lord, will you seriously say, that you would suffer him to allege any sort of proofs of the truth of such an assertion as you suppose? Would you not consider the very attempt to be a new offence;—would you not consider it as an offence ten times heavier than the first? Recollect that the informations for libels have lately been purged of the word *false*. This, if legally, was very properly done; as the lawyers have been in a practice of not giving evidence to the falsehood, or admitting disculpatory testimony to the truth. I confess I should carefully imitate this proceeding of the lawyers, in my intercourse with mankind; and would think it very unjust and improper in me, to accuse any man with a departure from veracity, where his attempt to prove the truth would be more dangerous to him than his admitting the falsehood with which he stood charged. But, my lord, my brother puts himself on his defence, and does totally deny the fact. Who, out of your own family, was present at any such discourse, at any time? My brother never had the honour of being often in your lordship's company; when he was, he stood in some awe, though in no sort of fear of you. He has had very few political discourses with you, and never any thing resembling a political dispute, but one.

This was on your lordship's ending a conversation, of which I was (as I am now) the unhappy subject, with declaring that "party operated to eradicate every virtue out of the heart of man." On that occasion he grew into some warmth, and retorted on other factions some of the charges your lordship had made upon me. This, my lord, he never mentioned to me, until his necessary justification drew it from him. He proceeded to justify the propriety of oppositions by the principles of the revolution, in which he said they were founded. So far from blaming that glorious event, or its sound principles,—he assumed them as the very ground of his argument. He asserts that he never had any other discourse with your lordship about the revolution. Consider, my lord, how easy it is, for a passionate recollection of a passionate debate, to confound matters strangely. Suppose, my lord, I was to say that the revolution could not be supported, if some lesser modes of opposition could not be also justified. My lord, I do say it,—but I say it upon paper. This, in conversations of years' standing, the hearer might forget to have been an hypothetical proposition. The littlepiddling monosyllable "if" might slip out of the memory, and the thing stand in all the glare of a criminal offence;—so dangerous it is to mention such things without their necessary adjuncts,—the time, the occasion, the posture of the debate, the purpose of

the speaker;—so dangerous, after a long time past, to mention them at all, in a style of accusation or reproach.

Supposing some impropriety in my brother's language, with regard to the persons in power; I must beg leave to observe, that being uttered only to yourself, very vulgar generosity would as easily pardon the natural warmth of a brother, as I do from my soul, and most unaffectedly, forgive the reflection on me which gave occasion to that warmth in him. At any rate, this imprudence never went beyond the very inside of your own family. Both my friends, however, do insist upon it, that such discourses as your lordship supposes, may not be confounded with strong censures upon what are sometimes, though with great impropriety, called the king's measures. However, it is the only comfort they have, if your lordship persists in the charge, that you charge them with nothing in which, by your lordship's own account, they are not involved with the very best of men, and best affected subjects his majesty can boast of.

With regard to these discourses of my brother and my friend, you say you "have done all you could; you did not publish them." I am always fond of doing justice to your lordship's actions; you did very rightly and wisely. If your lordship takes the word "publishing" in the vulgar sense,

for making generally known, be pleased to reflect, if your lordship's idea be founded, that they themselves held these discourses, and very publicly, in other places (as you infer by an argument *à fortiori* from their private conversation in your house); then, my lord, your publication of what they said to you, would be the most idle and superfluous piece of zeal in the world. They have saved you the invidious and unpleasant task of revealing private conversation. If your lordship means by "publication" (as the lawyers sometimes do) any communication, and would apply it, as a discovery, to persons in power, it would be a proceeding, I am sure, wholly shocking to the nobleness of your nature, to make any charge where, by the circumstances, it is impossible to oppose to it any kind of defence. But if you meant by publication, a denunciation as a matter criminal, your lordship must have, while our laws stand in vigour, quite other sort of matter and other sort of proof, I assure you, than I think you could possibly bring on the occasion.

Whilst I do justice to the rectitude of your conduct, I cannot acknowledge it as any thing of favour, kindness, or friendship; and, therefore, only wish you had not said "you had done all you could," for you could do nothing else in common sense and common justice.

Almost every word in the last page but one of



your letter, carries a sting with it. You charge  
 my friends with \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*

This is all full of various, odd, and complicated charges and insinuations, but all conveying matter of invidious, and, to us, most dangerous reflection, easily understood in the gross, though hard enough to be developed into the particulars. However, my lord, my desire of giving complete satisfaction to your lordship and to justice, induces me to bring it into distinctness as well as I am able.

By the discourses which your lordship holds to be so obnoxious and imprudent, I must suppose your lordship must mean, that my friends have, at some time or other, thrown out some very severe strictures on the memory of those princes who have so long since demised. I am compelled, whether I will or no, to think this the gist of the accusation, because some gentlemen who have been considered, I know not how justly, as professed and very public advocates and admirers of that illustrious family, have had no sort of reason to think their persons to be obnoxious, or their discourses to be imprudent. Nay, some who were so attached to that family, as to hold close connexions with such as pretended, however falsely,

<sup>4</sup> The draft is here defective.

to belong to it, have had no reason to repent of this their close connexion and enthusiastic attachment. I will not say, my lord, that my friends may not, in argument, where they thought things swayed too much to that side, have spoken rather disrespectfully (but they thought safely) of a king one hundred years dead; and others have heard them do it. People will say many things in argument, and when they are provoked by what they think extravagant notions of their adversaries. Nay, it is not uncommon, when men are got into debates, to take now one side, now another, of a question, as the momentary humour of the man and the occasion called for, with all the latitude that the antiquated freedom and ease of English conversation among friends did, in former days, encourage and excuse; and, indeed, in speaking to your lordship, they thought themselves, I dare say, equally safe, whether they commended or blamed any part, or all, of that individual family. As to me, my lord, on whom the light thrown on my friends is brought to reflect with undiminished lustre, I assure you that I have always spoken and thought on that subject, with all that perfect calmness which belongs to it. My passions are not to be roused, either on the side of partiality, or on that of hatred, by those who lie in their cold lead, quiet and innoxious, in the chapel of Henry, or the churches of Windsor Castle or La Trappe.

*Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.* My opinion of the truth or falsehood of facts related in history, is formed on the common rules of criticism; my opinion of characters, on those rules and the common principles of morality. I have no side in these matters, as your lordship has a little invidiously put it; but I will always speak what I think, without caring one farthing what is the *bon ton* upon the subject, either at court or in coffee-houses, until all honest freedom of disquisition, and all manly liberty of speech, shall, by legal or other power, be conclusively put an end to. Good reasons may exist for such a restraint, and perhaps we are at the eve of it; but until the time does actually arrive, I shall cherish and cultivate in myself and those I love, a *decent* freedom of speech in public, *all* freedom of speech among confidential friends, where other principles than those of decorum are the lawgivers. To this freedom, your lordship's friends the ancients (in a language you understand much better than I do) gave an honourable name, and classed it among the virtues. But whether a *virtue*, or only an *enjoyment*, I assure your lordship that neither courts nor town-halls, with all they could give of gold boxes or pensions, would indemnify me for the want of an hour's use of it. You tell me that these historical discussions "are usually held the tests of principles." Possibly they may. I, however, do not

apprehend that I am responsible for the opinions of the vulgar, till I adopt them. My lord, I have not learned my public principles in any such wild, unsystematic, and preposterous a mode. I have taken them from quite other sources than those of Mr. Carte or M. Rapin de Thoyras. My principles enable me to form my judgment upon men and actions in history, just as they do in common life, and are not formed out of events and characters, either present or past. History is a preceptor of prudence, not of principles. The principles of true politics are those of morality enlarged; and I neither now do, nor ever will, admit of any other.

But when your lordship speaks of tests of public principles, there is one which you have not mentioned, but which, let me say, is far above them all;—the actions and conduct of men. Let mine, and those of my friends, speak for our public principles. If the last six years are not enough, let us be on our trial for six more. That, indeed, is in the hands of Providence, not in ours. But I trust that He who has made honest fame a lawful object of prayer and pursuit, and the possession of it to stand second in the order of his blessings, will give us means and will to live down all charges and aspersions. The principles that guide us in public and in private, as they are not of our devising, but moulded into the nature and essence of



things, will endure with the sun and moon,—long, very long after whig and tory, Stuart and Brunswick, and all such miserable bubbles and playthings of the hour, are vanished from existence and from memory. My friends and myself may sink into errors, and even into considerable faults; but I trust that these principles will buoy us up again, so that we shall have something to set against our imperfections, and stand with the world, at least, not as the worst men or the worst citizens of our day.

My lord,—in charging us with indiscretion, together with the word “Stuarts” you have coupled *the revolution*. If I were to guess at a charge of indiscretion from the credit and fortunes of men, I should on this occasion suppose we had spoken too favourably of that event. But do you mean the contrary,—and, under this and the foregoing words, seriously intend to insinuate a charge of Jacobitism? Then, be it so. I am afraid that our enemies, who do not allow us *common* virtues, will hardly agree with you in giving us the credit of so amazing and *supernatural* a fidelity; that, at the expense of fame and fortune, and every thing dear to man, we should choose to be attached to a person when he is deserted by the whole world and by himself,—when he has not, (as I am told,) so much as a single Scotch, English, or Irish footman about him. Truly, we never

were so wonderfully dazzled with the splendour of actual royalty, as to be captivated with what is not even the shadow of it, nor ever was so in my time. If you mean that not our *attachments* but our *principles* are of that sort,—favourable to arbitrary power,—truly, in our present connexions, we have brought those principles to the very worst imaginable market; when the very best, in common opinion, was directly open before us. We have built our Chalcedon<sup>5</sup>, with the chosen part of the universe full in our prospect. But, my lord, I must again attribute these reflections to an overwarmth in your temper, or an error in your memory, or to both. My brother, my friend, and myself, never have for a moment thought other of the revolution, than as of an act, just, necessary, and honourable to this nation, whose liberty and prosperity it has insured to this time,—and will for ages, if its true principles be well adhered to. Your lordship is more indulgent than we wish. I cannot admit that men have a liberty of taking, seriously and dogmatically, what side they please in this question. I do not mean in this, or in any thing, to abridge any man's private liberty; but I am sure, that man is not safely placed in any

<sup>5</sup> “The city of the blind,”—so called from having been built in a very disadvantageous situation, on one side of the Thracian Bosphorus, whilst an excellent site, afterwards chosen for Byzantium, was in full view on the opposite shore.

weighty public trust in this kingdom, who thinks of the revolution in any other manner than that which I have mentioned.

This is no matter of historical criticism,—it is a moral conclusion, on an undisputed fact. A man who condemns the revolution, has no longer any obnoxious persons to hang his principles on, and, therefore, he and they may be made but too convenient to the executive powers of the time;—but, for this reason, he is much more dangerous than formerly to the constitution and liberties of his country. Let me add further, that a man who praises the *fact* of the revolution, and abandons its *principles*,—substituting the *instrumental* persons and establishments consequential to that event, in the place of its *ends*, is as bad as the former. To me, indeed, he seems to be infinitely worse, as he can have no sound moral principles of any kind, nor be a fit servant for honest government in any mode whatever. The one has *lost* his attachment, the last has *deserted* his principles; and the last is, by far, the most culpable and the most dangerous. These are, and always were, my sentiments and expressions on the revolution, drawn from principles of public law and natural justice, well spun and firmly wove together, not patched out of party-coloured rags, picked from the filthy dunghills of old women's superstitions and children's credulity,—not from Fuller's warming-

pan, or Oates' plot,—Ferguson's manifesto, or Manwaring's massacre,—no, nor from the paltry memoirs of that age, which I would as soon take for its history, as I would take the authority of "*the Whisperer*"<sup>6</sup> for the events of this reign, or that of the pensioners of the present court for the character of King George the Second.

I say nothing of Will. Burke's early habits,—you know them. If I were to mention those of my brother, his education, not so learned as yours, had been however, at least as much, in the utmost severity of whig principles; but I say nothing of that infused education which is as nothing. We came both of us pretty early into our own hands, and our principles are of our own putting together. Those who do not like them, will have nothing to do with any of us. I thought, however, that we had, in the main, the same principles with those of your lordship, and that this similarity in the great lines was one of the grounds of your former kindness.

I have spoken fully to the first part of the series of charges, on the principles of my friends, which are mine also. You mention at the end of the roll of obnoxious tenets, which my friends were so indiscreet as to utter in your company, in former times, the Irish rebellion, by which I

<sup>6</sup> Probably a scurrilous publication of the day.



suppose you mean the great rebellion of 1641. I all along suspected that your lordship had mistaken *my* discourses with you, for those of *my friends*. This convinces me of it. Will. Burke, or my brother, most certainly never have spoken to you on the subject. They know little or nothing of the Irish history. They have never thought on it at all. I have studied it with more care than is common. I have spoken to you on the subject, I dare say, twenty times. This mustard-bowl is *my* thunder. “Me—Me—adsum qui feci: nihil ille nec ausus nec potuit.” Indeed, I *have* my opinion on that part of history, which I have often delivered to you,—to every one I have conversed with on the subject, and which I mean still to deliver, whenever the occasion calls for it, which is—that the Irish rebellion of 1641 was not only (as our silly things called ‘histories’ call it) not utterly *unprovoked*, but that no history I have ever read, furnishes an instance of any that was so *provoked*; and that in almost all parts of it, it has been extremely and most absurdly misrepresented.

I assure you I am not single in that opinion. Several now living think so. The late Mr. Yorke thought so, and expressed himself so in debate in the House of Commons, on the *nullum tempus* Bill, as well as to myself in conversation. I really thought our history of Ireland so terribly defec-

tive, that I did, and with success, urge a very learned and ingenious friend <sup>7</sup> of yours and mine, in the university of Dublin, to undertake it. I dare say he will do it ably and faithfully; but if he thinks that any thing unfavourable to his principles will be deduced from telling the truth, or cares for vulgar malignity on that occasion, he is much more below the task than I can prevail on myself to think him. As to my *principles* on this subject, I must leave them to your mercy. I have told you what I know to be true in *fact*. If I were to reason on that event, and to affirm it justifiable, you might say I showed myself a friend to rebellion. If I blamed it, you might say I was attached to the doctrines of passive obedience. This is an ugly dilemma. I don't remember to have said either the one or the other; but if people must make a conclusion concerning my character from what I did do, and shall say, on this subject, all that in charity and decency they *ought* to conclude is, that I am no lover of oppression, nor believer in malignant fables; what they *will* conclude, is their affair, not mine. This was necessary to bring this charge, and, indeed, all the others, from my friends to the true object,—myself.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Leland.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF  
RICHMOND.

October, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

As I trotted towards town yesterday, I turned over in my mind the subject of our last conversation. I set it in every light I could possibly place it, and after the best deliberation in my power, I came to a resolution not to accept the offer which was made to me <sup>8</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> The offer here referred to is described by Mr. Burke, in his Letter to Mr. Dowdeswell of the 7th of November of this year, as "the first place in a supervisorship of three," about to be sent out to India. The offer was made to him, Mr. Burke says, by Sir George Colebrooke, "with great concurrence of the whole body of directors." This commission was intended probably to replace that, with which the three unfortunate gentlemen, Messrs. Vansittart, Scrafton, and Ford, sailed for India in 1769, in the *Aurora*, which vessel was never heard of afterwards. They had authority to examine and rectify the concerns of every department; and a full power of control over all the company's servants in India. The decided part Mr. Burke had taken in parliament in support of the company's rights, and the knowledge he had acquired of these affairs, as mentioned in a former note, led to this proposal to place him at the head of so important and responsible a commission. Mr. Burke having, however, de-

My family friends, whom I met in town, had employed their thoughts on the same subjects, and on talking the matter pretty largely, concurred in the same opinion. I shall therefore call on Sir George Colebrooke to-morrow, and give him my final answer.

I defer my visit to Lord Rockingham, until I am able to inform him that the business is no longer a subject of deliberation. I am, on every account, willing to believe that his silence, both to the person making the proposal and to myself, has arisen solely from a delicacy in giving advice,

clined the employment, six gentlemen were named supervisors at a general meeting of the proprietors of India stock, held on the 27th of October of this year. This measure of the company being disapproved of by Lord North's cabinet, a bill was hurried through parliament, which met in the November following, and passed before Christmas, restraining the company from appointing supervisors. Early in the next year, Lord North introduced a bill for regulating the affairs of the company, which was passed into a law the same session; and effected a very different arrangement from that proposed or desired by the directors. Both those bills were strenuously opposed by Mr. Burke and others of the Rockingham party, but carried by large majorities.

In the letter to Mr. Dowdeswell which follows this, Mr. Burke describes the financial difficulties of the company; and in one to Lord Rockingham of the 23rd of November in this year, he gives his opinion as to the extent of interference in their affairs, which parliament can with propriety exercise.



where a man's interest was concerned. This is your grace's opinion, and I think I have frequently observed his reserve in similar circumstances, which, where my own affections were less concerned, I have very much commended, as a conduct full of dignity and prudence. I thought, indeed, that I had been a little out of that rule. I was, in the beginning, hurt at finding myself mistaken, and my uneasiness was in proportion to the degree of love and honour I have for Lord Rockingham, and to that measure of unreserved confidence I have always observed towards him. But, as no man is a tolerable judge in his own cause, I have taught myself that the rule ought to have no exceptions, and that this reserve was merely prudential,—not blended with any of that neglect and coldness towards me which, if real, would, I confess it, give a deep and lasting wound to my peace of mind.

Since this delicacy does exist, I am determined, as I ought, to attend to it, and to avoid putting him under any difficulty with regard to me or my affairs. I shall say nothing of the matter until it is over, which will be by eight to-morrow morning.

I am deeply sensible of the very affectionate manner in which your grace took part in this little consultation; and of the condescension with which you entered into my feelings, as well as of

the regard you expressed to my interest and reputation. Your kindness is not thrown away upon me.

I am, &c.

E. B.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO WM. DOWDESWELL, ESQ.

Beaconsfield, October 27, 1772.

MY DEAR DOWDESWELL,

Since I received your letter, I have done all in my power to arrange myself for a journey to Pull Court. I find it impossible. I must therefore content myself with giving you a short, and, I fear, a very imperfect sketch of the state of affairs, so far as it has come to my knowledge. I took it for granted, that you had seen Lord Rockingham in his progress northwards, or I certainly would have written to you long before this. I know Lord Rockingham expected to meet you at Harrowden. By the turn of your letter I must presume that he was disappointed.

The East India business is the principal cause of calling parliament together before Christmas. Whether foreign politics furnish any additional reasons for this early meeting, I know not. Things both at home and abroad are in a critical situation. The East India company, without any diminution,

even with a considerable increase of their trade, are not solvent. They owe eight hundred thousand pounds to the bank. In the present state of credit this money is wanted; and the directors of this latter company would be very clamorous and troublesome, if they were not quieted by a persuasion that government would do something to enable the East India company to discharge this enormous debt, which is double the amount of the ordinary annual transaction between the two companies. In the last direction, when Mr. Purling was in the chair, the court accepted drafts from their servants in India that exceed a million. These drafts were, in their quantity, beyond all reason; and in their mode and principle, were in direct opposition to the orders which had been repeatedly given to the presidencies abroad. The drafts were chiefly for expenses incurred for building and fortifications. They ought most undoubtedly not to have been accepted, if the court of directors, or at least those in the department of treasury, had done their duty. Colebrooke values himself upon his freedom from any share in this unjustifiable acceptance, the chief cause of the difficulty that now embarrasses the company. The tea-agreement is now at its winding up, and has added some hundreds of thousands to the debt. It was certainly a most improvident bargain. The directors have had three schemes in

contemplation. One, to increase their capital: a second, to borrow a million upon bonds: the third, that government this year, instead of the discharge of other debts, would pay off £1,200,000, of what it owes to the company. This last scheme, some of them think, with time given for the tea-composition, and a reduction of about four per cent. dividend, would enable the company to go on until a reform of their affairs abroad can be effected by means of the supervision, or by some other method. This seems to be the scheme most approved by the chairs. Others, with more resolution, and to all appearance with more sense, propose to reduce their dividend to six per cent., and thus to exonerate themselves at one stroke of the charge of four hundred thousand pounds, into which they had been tricked by the court. Then they would stand upon equal terms with administration; and as their whole chance of getting any thing would depend upon relieving the company, the company might prescribe, instead of receiving, the terms of the agreement. Take what course they will, the difficulties will be very great. You will ask what the treasury has been doing all this time. While Lord North<sup>9</sup> was in the country, his correspondence with the company was amicable, and in the

<sup>9</sup> At this time first lord of the treasury and prime minister, having succeeded the Duke of Grafton in January, 1770.



style of mutual accommodation. But soon after his arrival in town, his manner was extremely altered. He promised an answer to the propositions of the court of directors in a week. Three weeks are elapsed, and there is no answer. Papers are daily ordered by the treasury from the India House; and by their nature, they seem to be materials provided for an attack upon the company. In the mean time, the language of the court-runners is to the last degree hostile to that body. I am told Lord Mansfield declares publicly, that the company is unequal to the magnitude of its circumstances; that the crown ought to resume the powers of peace and war granted to them, and reduce the company to a mere trading corporation. Next to the grand object of the destruction of Wilkes, the leading object in the politics of the court is, to seize upon the East India patronage of offices. In this hopeful scheme they will be joined, in a manner, by the whole nation. Their grand difficulty is in the object itself, not in getting parliament to concur in any act of violence. To the attainment of their end, mere despotic violence is not sufficient, or they would have attained it long ago. How Lord North will appear before the House, after suffering five years to elapse, without doing anything to enable the company to keep its agreement with government, if they were deficient in power, or to compel them if they were

fraudulent, or to release them if they were not in circumstances, I cannot guess ;—other than that he is conscious he appears before a tribunal where he is always to be acquitted, and the rest of the world always to be condemned.

I hear of nothing else with which the ministry mean to entertain their friends at the meeting. Lord Rockingham wrote lately to Keppel. He seemed strongly disposed to think, that to the ministry and their friends the business ought to be left, and that we ought to be in no haste to go to the meeting. The Duke of Richmond is of that opinion ; and, indeed, as far as my poor sentiments go, I concur with them most heartily. I am tired of hearing, as an answer to all argument,—“ You want our places.” The determined majority within doors, which, supporting no minister, is blindly devoted to the court,—the treachery of our allies in opposition, and the unsystematic conduct of many of our friends, otherwise excellent and sensible men, makes the situation of active persons on our side of the question very humiliating and vexatious. Abroad,—things are not a jot better. The people have fallen into a total indifference to any matters of public concern. I do not suppose that there was ever anything like this stupor in any period of our history. In this condition there is no dignity in carrying on a teasing and vexatious sort of debate, without any

other effect than pelting ministers now and then, and keeping honest gentlemen from their dinners, while we make trifling and ineffectual divisions in the House, and the nation quietly acquiesces in those measures which we agitate with so much eagerness. When opposition has not some sort of correspondence with the feelings of the people at large, it only looks like personal discontent. This is the case at present; and it is very absurd in us, who sacrifice every thing to character, to give ourselves much trouble when our efforts are no longer seconded by the public sense; and when all our labour tends only to lower that character for which we have contended. If any thing can rouse the people to a sense of their situation, it is your absenting yourselves from business. To attend the House on great questions without saying any thing upon them, may not always be easy, nor even safe. It may admit disagreeable constructions. Absence from those questions will scarcely admit of more than one construction, and that the true one. This mode of absence will have a better effect than a *secession*, (the time for which is past,) because, as you are not bound to any thing, you may resume your attendance whenever the situation of things shall make an attendance advisable. Every thing will, however, depend in this, as in all things, upon concert. The more I consider our circumstances, and the nature of the business which the House is to be engaged in, the fonder I

grow of Lord Rockingham's measure, which appears to me politic, sober, and manly; but, observe, that I am not apt to be long fond of any thing which you do not thoroughly approve. We have not often differed hitherto, and I will take care that we shall differ as little in time to come. Think of this business,—communicate with Lord Rockingham upon it, and let there be a settled parole for our friends by the middle of next month. You know, that if you and Lord Rockingham should, on consultation, adopt a plan of more activity,—why, I am ready, and will certainly follow wherever you lead me. Our principles are the same, and it is of little consequence in what manner we conduct the campaign, when we are morally sure of being defeated. All we can do is to save our honour.

Pray let me hear from you, provided you cannot let me see you pretty soon. You will now think of quitting the country. I hope you do not forget that this place is not five miles from your road. Will. Burke gives you many thanks for your obliging invitation, but bids me tell you that nothing, except its being necessary to make you chancellor of the exchequer, could prevail on him to take such a journey on horseback. Adieu! and believe me with the greatest sincerity and affection, dear Dowdeswell,

Your most faithful friend, and obedient servant,

EDM. BURKE.



My best compliments to the ladies. Mrs. Burke desires her respects to you.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Beaconsfield, October 29, 1772,  
Thursday night, half after 10.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have this instant received your lordship's letter by express, and I sit down to answer it before I go to bed. In the first place, I am more happy than I can describe, in finding your health in so fair a progress towards perfect re-establishment. I most heartily wish that every consideration may be postponed to that object, so essential to our happiness in our society, and to all our success in public business. I have no apprehension from your lordship's absence but one. I am afraid that an opinion should gain ground among your real well-wishers, which the court has been very earnest in spreading, that your health is so impaired as to prevent you from taking any further part in affairs. On this subject I have already received such good-natured condolences, as nothing but the tender friendship of politicians could inspire. I have been so malevolent,

as to tell them a truth which deprived them of any further opportunity of showing the goodness of their hearts.

I have had a letter from Mr. Dowdeswell, which I answered yesterday. I am greatly mortified in finding it absolutely out of my power to obey either his obliging commands or yours. I must wait your instructions here; though I should receive them much more gladly and much more usefully at Pull Court, and at Wentworth. Finding that he had missed seeing your lordship at Harrowden, I told him your ideas with regard to our conduct at the meeting, with such reasons as I thought were most prevalent with your lordship in that business. He will probably, being now fully apprised of the same thing by your own letter, communicate his sentiments to your lordship, early enough to determine you in the part we ought to take. The whole efficacy of it will depend upon its being done with a pretty general concurrence. Otherwise the attendance of some will have the air of a tacit censure on the absence of others. The Duke of Richmond entirely falls in with your lordship's plan, and has had it communicated to Lord G. Sackville<sup>10</sup>. I rather suspect

<sup>10</sup> Third son of Lionel, first Duke of Dorset, created Viscount Sackville, by Lord North, early in 1782. Mr. Burke here uses the name of Sackville; but Lord George had

that he will not approve of it. Though he is not very active in the House, few are more diligent attenders. I fancy this attendance is his principal amusement; and he may not think so favourably of any scheme of policy that tends to take away that pleasure from him. Besides, he has got deep into the India committee, and does not seem totally to dislike the business that is going on there, or the general tendency of it. Few military people do. This India affair is, I conceive, to be our sole employment. The company owes two millions and upwards, which they will not be able to discharge these three years. *They go to government*, and your lordship will judge who is to prescribe the terms of their relief. My opinion is clear, that they are under no absolute necessity of doing so. But Colebrooke is at present in a flutter of expedients; the instrument of the designs of other people, wholly without authority in the company; baffled in all his attempts, under imputations, all of which he cannot remove; and without any natural resources (further than some kind of resolution) to carry him through such a labyrinth of difficulties. I offered him my assistance, which was received as offered services commonly are. It would have been, indeed, presuming in me to

assumed the surname of Germain in 1770, upon inheriting the property of Sir John and Lady Betty Germain.

offer, and in him very natural to slight the proposal, if something particular in my situation just at this time, had not somewhat enabled me to be serviceable, or given me at least the chance of being so. But he was cunning. I went out of town: he was defeated both in the court of directors and in the general court. He lost every man in his list. I am sorry to see things in this state. The company, by its dispersions, and by a sort of emulation which party amongst them should make the worst choice, has played the whole game for the king's friends. Colebrooke's list certainly was very exceptionable in many parts of it, but this, which was countenanced too by a good friend of your lordship, is by far worse<sup>11</sup>. Wier is certainly a man of principle, and a man of business. With good associates he would do good service; but, taking the whole mass together, he is not sufficient to leaven the whole of such a heavy piece of dough.

<sup>11</sup> At a meeting of the India House on the 27th of October, 1772, the following gentlemen were nominated as proper persons to be supervisors of the company's affairs in India:—

Hon. Lieut.-General Monckton.

George Cuming, Esq.

William Devaynes, Esq.

Peter Lascelles, Esq.

Daniel Wier, Esq.

Edward Wheeler, Esq.



They have not ability for the task they undertake, neither is their want of real capacity compensated by any thing imposing or authoritative from weight of public opinion that attends them. Neither Monckton nor Wier would, I dare say, consent to any job; but they have hardly power to cure the innumerable jobs that afflict all India, and distress the company here. In the mean time, the committee of the House of Commons has had one part of the effect intended, and has driven Lord Clive to the court, where he is not only protected, but rewarded. How soon Sir George will be driven by the same hounds to the same cover, I know not, but I fear every thing from that committee. How ridiculous are two or three people in their opposition to the designs of a court and the bent of a whole nation!

I indeed feel heartily with your lordship on poor Keppel's situation. He is excessively affected, and he was the worse able to support this blow<sup>1</sup>, as it fell upon him in a weak state of health. His voice is more impaired than I should expect, from the remains of a sore throat, and my fears attribute it to a deeper constitutional weakness. It is a pity he should not carry a better body about, for none ever covered a more generous, worthy, firm,

<sup>1</sup> The death of Lord Albemarle on the 13th of September, 1772.

and manly soul. I did not see Sir Charles Saunders when I was in town, but Will. Burke, who is now well recovered, told me he saw him walking very stoutly in the Strand.

The manner in which the ministerial aldermen have fled from the scrutiny is extraordinary<sup>2</sup>. Some attribute it to their own gross stupidity. I rather suspect it to be the refinement of somebody else, and that it is meant to throw the city into such confusion, as to justify a legislative alteration in their mode of election. A few days will now show. I am vexed that Trecothick voted for these shabby fellows. His known and well-grounded aversion to Wilkes and Townshend, might prevent his voting for either of them; but there was no necessity of voting for the courtiers.

I wish earnestly to know, as soon as possible, your lordship's determination. We ought to have but one word among us. I take it for granted your lordship has already seen the Duke of Portland, Sir George Savile, and Lord J. Cavendish.

<sup>2</sup> A scrutiny of votes given by the livery for the election of two persons to be returned to the court of aldermen, for their choice of one of them to serve the office of Lord Mayor of London. The sheriffs returned Messrs. Wilkes and Townshend, when the scrutiny was demanded by Messrs. Halifax and Shakespear. The return of Wilkes and Townshend was confirmed, and the court of aldermen named the latter to be Lord Mayor.

They, with Montagu<sup>3</sup>, are in your neighbourhood, and I believe it is not easy to find such a conciliabulum, in any one neighbourhood in the kingdom.

They are massacring (in the true European mode of civilization) the black Carribbees of St. Vincent, without the least policy or provocation. It is the work of our cabinet, and shows how all abuses and oppressions in India will be reformed by taking the management into the hands of the crown. I am told Lord Mansfield declares, in the strongest terms, the necessity of resuming the political powers of the company. It is the tone of all the courtiers, and the nation echoes to them. Poor foolish echo!

I have nothing more that I can think of to trouble you with. Present Mrs. Burke's and my humble duty to Lady Rockingham. I am, with the greatest affection and attachment, my dear lord,

Your faithful friend and obedient  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Frederick Montagu, of Papplewick, in Nottinghamshire, member of parliament for Northampton from 1759 to 1768, and for Higham Ferrers from 1768 to 1790. He was a lord of the treasury in Lord Rockingham's administration in 1782, and in that of the Duke of Portland in 1783.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO WILLIAM DOWDES-  
WELL, ESQ.

Broad Sanctuary, November 7, 1772.

MY DEAR SIR,

I received your packet here, in town, where some business called me a few days ago, and where it still detains me. Your servant waits at Beconsfield for my answer; I could not dispatch him a moment earlier. Sir G. Savile is in town; I took your paper to him last night. His nephew, Lord Lumley, was just preparing to set out for France, and we were not able to read over what you sent with any attention until this morning about eleven o'clock; other matters unavoidably engaged me for the remainder of the day; so that it is near nine in the evening before I am able to sit down to thank you for your ample and satisfactory communication of your sentiments, on the very delicate situation in which we stand, and the very important and difficult business we have before us. You do not write on the subject like one who has not been used for some time to consider it; at least, your fallow adds to your fertility; for I am of Sir G. Savile's mind, who thinks your paper one of the ablest discussions of a public matter that he has ever read. I have not time to



give you the detail of our conversation; in many points he concurs heartily with you. In India politics, you know he has opinions of his own, and in consequence declines taking any active part in that business.

I see as we proceed in the discussion of the nice and complex matter that makes the subject of your paper, that it will be absolutely impracticable to arrive at any fixed determination without a personal interview. At this time of the year, it cannot be either at Pull Court or at Wentworth. Harrowden is more central, and there Lord Rockingham might, without material inconvenience to any of them, collect the greatest part of his confidential friends. Whether you meet there, or not, it is clearly necessary that you should be both in town, in order to give weight to the final resolution you shall take, and to procure a general and timely communication to all your friends. Pressed as I am in time, forgive a hasty observation or two, on the subject of your letter. I have no leisure to send you any thing regular or digested. In the main, I have the satisfaction of going along with you, in most of your reasonings. I believe that a great deal of the difference in opinion concerning the plan of non-attendance in this session, which prevails among Lord Rockingham's friends, has arisen from our not exactly understanding one

another on the *extent* of the measure, and the *motives* for proposing it. It is not suggested from choice. It is upon the idea that nothing can be attempted in parliament, with any hope of success; and that the people without doors are cold and unconcerned in the contest which is carried on between us and the ministers. If either of these fail in fact, the measure is taken up on mistaken principles. If both considerations are founded, then it is to be shown what else it is that promises better.

Without all question, if this absence should appear the result of a supine indolence and neglect of duty, it must have the worst effect imaginable upon our character. If it cannot be made expressive of the strongest and most indignant feeling and resentment, of the whole train of conduct adopted by the majority of the two Houses, it were better to continue our tiresome attendance, our fruitless debates, and our feeble divisions for six years to come, in the manner we have dragged through them for the six years that are past. But I have not yet been able to persuade myself, that your absence from parliament at the opening of the next session can pass by without making a strong impression on the public. Your character for diligence will not permit your absence to be thought the effect of inactivity; your known integrity would render every imputation of corrup-

tion ridiculous; and your number, weight, and consequence, would necessarily incite an inquiry into your reasons for a procedure so contrary to the usual tenor of your conduct. The ministry and their partisans may be depended upon for an attack on you; and this attack calling for an explanation, you will lay your reasons before the public with more grace, and probably with better effect than if they appeared previous to the step you had taken. It is always imprudent to suffer the previous public agitation of any measure that you are resolved to pursue: better take it first, and pledge your *people* for its subsequent justification. This is my idea of the *spirit* of the non-attendance proposed by Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Richmond. I concurred in it most heartily: not without a sense of the inconveniences which may attend it, but considering it as the only thing which remained for us to do. We have tried every thing else.

With regard to the *extent* of the plan, I never understood it to amount to a total secession; and in this particular I think I have the happiness of approaching very near to some of your ideas. The absence, I thought, would be proper on their speech and address, and upon those points which are generally considered as the measures of government, and to which we are morally certain that the House is mortgaged to the court. The attend-

ance upon other points will mark the distinction we mean to keep in view the more strongly.

There is another point which you rather agitate (I imagine) than directly propose; that of an *absolute secession*, and upon some *definite measure*. In this matter I have some difficulties. I do not look upon such a secession, upon any proposition now probably in view, to be at all practicable, because it supposes the existence of that very spirit which we want, and which, by the proposed step, we wish to excite. Our people who now hesitate upon a limited plan of absence, will never be brought to hear of an absolute retreat. Such a secession leaves us without a power of returning with any sort of decency, let opportunities invite, or circumstances demand it, never so strongly. I should, besides, very much doubt whether any merely political question, such as the convention in Sir Robert Walpole's time, or the compromise about Falkland's Islands which happened in our own, (even supposing them the worst in their kind,) no, nor hardly any prodigal grant to the crown, can justify a secession from parliament; and though we should take that occasion to review former matters of grievance, and to make the whole an accumulated charge on the majority, certainly nothing in that mass would be much attended to, but that which was the immediate occasion of the breach; and in spite of any thing we could do to the con-



trary, the whole would be tried upon that single issue. Nothing can to my ideas make that formal, general, instantaneous secession proper, but some direct act which shakes a fundamental part of the constitution ; and that, too, immediately and visibly. Such an act has been done, but we have very unfortunately, I think, let pass the time for making any effectual use of it. The mode proposed seems well suited to that profession of despair, which does not arise from the resentment of a single act, but of a series of conduct of a dangerous and unconstitutional tendency. It does not seem to me to be attended with the mischievous futility of a middle measure. It has strength sufficient for its magnitude. Every thing which I say, in favour of this partial secession, is upon the presumption that the concurrence in it will be general. If this should not be the case, I very readily admit, nothing worse can be thought of. I join with you, too, in the absolute necessity of Lord Rockingham's being in town, if his health will at all admit it. I do not forget the disarray and confusion we were in upon the business of the jury-bill.

You seem to think that foreign affairs make a principal part of the reasons of the court for calling us together before Christmas. As a speculation on the state of those affairs, you seem to be well-grounded in that supposition ; but I can find

nothing, in the discourse of those who disperse the court-word before the opening of the session, to support it. I doubt much whether they are yet come to any thing like a resolution on that subject.

With regard to the East India difficulties, they most certainly enter largely into our business. When I thought of the reduction of dividend, as a means for their immediate relief, I considered it not as a compulsory measure by authority of parliament, but as an act of their own ; necessary, as I conceived, for disengaging them from the ministry, and treating upon terms something more approaching to equality. But you have entirely satisfied me, that if the courtiers have a deeper and more regular design, than at this instant they profess, upon the company, the fall of stock will infinitely facilitate their project ; and that this reduction of dividend will have such an effect upon the stock is indisputable. On the whole, I can scarcely conceive a more delicate part than we have to act in this business. By an unhappy and rare conjunction of circumstances, the designs of the court coincide exactly with the phrensy of the people. The greater number of those who form an opposition, naturally take the colour of their opinions from the latter ; so that the management of your friends becomes a matter of, at least, as much difficulty as the opposition to the

enemy. You remark very rightly on the conduct of all parties in the East India company upon the question of last year's committee, and on their behaviour in that committee. I agree with you, that without their own vigorous and unanimous efforts in their own cause, our endeavours will be of no service. In their present situation, nothing is more certain than that they will make no such efforts. They are divided into the most rancorous factions. None of them mean, (I am persuaded,) to make a direct sacrifice of the trust they have, in so large a part, of the rights as well as the properties of the subjects; but their mutual blind passions and resentments will make them do it without intending it; and the strong distress of their affairs has so frightened the body of the proprietors for their present and future dividends, that they are the less attentive to the preservation of their privileges of a higher order. They have no leader of ability, foresight, and honesty sufficient to state to them, in their general courts, the real politics of their situation. Sir G. Colebrooke is not in our hands, nor has he ever consulted with Lord Rockingham or any of his friends, upon one step which he has taken, or which he is to take. You have heard that he offered me the first place in a supervisorship of three, with great concurrence of the whole body of direction. I did not think it then right to accept the offer; yet after such a

mark of confidence, you might imagine that nothing, at least of parliamentary use, would be kept from me ; but the fact is, that he has acquainted me with nothing. He is shy and reserved ; and while he has complied with the requisitions of the treasury, at least as extensively as he ought, he has not communicated a single paper to me. It is true he did not refuse to send me copies of such papers as I should desire ; but he showed so little willingness in the business, that I have not yet thought fit to trouble him. I will see him before you come to town, and will collect either from him or from some others, such matter as may lead us better into the detail of their affairs. Without such instruction, without better support from the company, and without a total change in the sentiments of almost all our friends, the absence from parliament, which I think proper for the whole, will be absolutely necessary with regard to us. It is impossible for me to enter at large with you into all the matters you have discussed in your very masterly paper. You have my full powers to decide for me as you please. When I see you, which I hope and request may be as soon as you can, I may learn more facts. I would say a great deal more, but I am hourly called away by the business that brought me to town. Pray urge Lord Rockingham to come to town ; all depends upon it. I send you back your observations, with a note



or two of Sir G. Savile's upon them. I have no copy of your paper, and lest yourself should have none, I send it back to you ; but would very much wish to have a copy sent to me for the Duke of Richmond's use, and the satisfaction of some other friends. To conclude, let me again and again entreat that we may not be left at the opening of the session without a leader, or the least idea of a plan of conduct. The time gives you very little leisure for deliberation.

I am, my dear sir,

Ever faithfully yours,

EDM. BURKE.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Broad Sanctuary, November 11, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

By this time you have received the whole of Mr. Dowdeswell's thoughts and correspondence, on the subject of your lordship's proposition. I confess, on the very first suggestion, I entered into it with great good liking : but one condition always attended my approbation ; that is, the unanimous,

cheerful, and zealous concurrence of all your lordship's friends. If the plan were by them unanimously adopted, manfully avowed, and resolutely adhered to, I do not entertain the slightest doubt that it would come up to the most sanguine expectations. But I find so little concurrence, that it seems to me the last degree of imprudence, in such a diversity of opinion, to hazard a measure, the whole effect of which depends upon unanimity. I thought it a mark of confidence that was proper, to show your lordship's letter to Lord G. Germain. He argued much, and truly not without cogency upon the subject. He looked upon a concurrence even of your lordship's particular friends, in any plan of non-attendance, as a thing absolutely impracticable. He did not think that we are strong enough, either in numbers or popularity; or that there is enough of discontent among the people without doors to give the measure any sort of effect. He apprehends that we might rather run the risk of being forgotten by the public, than of exciting in them the spirit that we wish to raise. Besides that, there are so many other persons in opposition, not only unconnected, but extremely adverse, who would not fail to take advantage of our secession (however qualified) to succeed to our situations, and to accuse us of having meanly relinquished them, that we can never propose it with any hope either of credit or advantage. He

was very sure, that neither of the Townshends, the father or the son, would enter into it; as contrary to the opinions of both, and to all the feelings of the younger and more active of the two. I told him that your lordship (as he might, indeed, see by your letter) entertained the idea only as a matter to be considered. The fact is, Mr. Dowdeswell's idea of absence does not go to above a fortnight. Sir G. Savile is very doubtful; Sir Charles Saunders and Lord F. Cavendish disapprove. Your lordship's northern friends are generally adverse, and none of them earnest for it; so that the proposition, as far as the sense of your lordship's friends can be collected, is, upon the whole, disliked. Lord George Germain seems rather to approve of our course during the last session, where we lay by until fair opportunity of opposition offered; but that our attendance, though inactive, ought to be regular, in order to show that, though we may be silent, we are nevertheless vigilant. I am persuaded that we cannot follow any plan of this kind in the approaching session. They will, because they must, lay something immediately before us, and we must immediately take our part in it. But nothing can be done without your lordship's early appearance in town, ten days at least before the meeting. This wish and opinion of mine is always in subordina-

tion to the care of your lordship's health, which is, and ought to be, our first consideration.

The ministers, I believe, have nothing very precisely determined with relation to Indian affairs. I am told, and I do not think it wholly improbable from many circumstances, that Lord North was against our meeting before Christmas, but that Lord Mansfield urged on the early summons. Notwithstanding Lord North's procrastinating disposition, he must do something with regard to the company's insolvency. He must, I think, accept of one, or other, of their propositions. Mr. Dowdeswell inclines to the scheme of the company's receiving the debt from government, as the most eligible measure, and is, by all means, for keeping up the dividend. His reasons are certainly cogent, but, as yet, we have the matter very imperfectly before us.

I saw a letter to Sir Charles Saunders from Sir Charles Knowles. He speaks of the conclusion of peace between Turkey and Russia as almost certain, and this will probably draw with it some sort of pacification of Poland, and may thereby ensure the continuance of peace in the rest of Europe, for some time longer. I cannot find that foreign affairs are intended to form any part of our business at the meeting. If your lordship gives me notice when you will be at



Harrowden, I shall be glad to wait upon you there, but, indeed, I had much rather meet you in London. I am, with my best respects to Lady Rockingham,

My dear lord, ever your lordship's most  
obliged and obedient humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

I hear that Charles Fox's speedy coming into the treasury is expected. This event would not, I hope, prove sinister to a very just claim<sup>4</sup>; and would prevent much oppression to individuals, and, I am quite certain, a very considerable loss to the public.

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THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Goodwood, November 15, 1772.

MY DEAR BURKE,

Your letter came very safely to me by the coach, and, inclosed, I return Lord Rockingham's to you.

I entirely agree with you, that the measure of secession should be entered into unanimously and with spirit, otherwise it is worse than the most tame inactivity; and, therefore, as many of our

<sup>4</sup> This is an allusion to a claim, then before the board of treasury, on the part of Mr. Burke's brother, to retain some land purchased by him in Grenada, the right to which was disputed by the crown.

friends are against it, I shall give up my opinion ; and I do it with the more ease, because, I confess, I think our affairs are in so very bad a condition, that we can expect no good to arise from any measures we pursue, and, therefore, it becomes a matter of more indifference whether what we do is a little more or less wise. Now I am upon this subject, I will mention a reflection that I have made. You know I pass in the world for very obstinate, wrong-headed, and tenacious of my opinions. Now (as it is not uncommon in such cases) I think I am the very reverse. I do not mean to say that I always judge right, but I do think, that upon some very material questions, I did judge more right than those whose opinions were followed ; and I do think, that far from being tenacious, I do give up my opinion to that of my friends much too often. Had my opinion of taking administration by ourselves, when our negotiation with Bedford House broke off in 1766, (or 1767, I forget which year,) been followed, things would have been very different from what they are at present. The idea of seceding after the Middlesex election was yours ; but I agreed in it much, and I am sure it was throwing all away not to follow it. I fear it is too late now to do any good. I don't think a secession now would have much effect, but it is better than a poor weak attendance, and a despicable opposi-

tion. By attending, we show our weakness and our insignificancy. If we absented ourselves, and still kept dining together and writing in the papers, people might have a better opinion of our weight. The novelty might have some effect; and ministers, left quite to themselves in parliament, might be embarrassed. But still, I submit.

Indeed, Burke, you are too unreasonable, to desire me to be in town some time before the meeting of parliament. You see how very desperate I think the game is; you know how little weight my opinion is of with our friends in the lump, (for I exclude particular friends,) and to what purpose can I then meet them? No, let me enjoy myself here till the meeting; and then, at your desire, I will go to town and look about me for a few days. You say the party is an object of too much importance to be let go to pieces. Indeed, Burke, you have more merit than any man in keeping us together; but I believe our greatest bond is the pride of the individuals, which unfortunately, though it keeps us from breaking, hinders us from acting like men of sense. The marquis manages us better than any man can, but he will never make us what we ought to be; the thing is not practicable.

I entirely agree with his lordship in his ideas about India affairs, and fear the intelligence you got of the plan of government is but too well

founded; at least I fear, they will not miss this opportunity of getting a footing in the affairs of the company. Alack! alack! all is very bad. Adieu, ever most affectionately and sincerely yours,

RICHMOND, &c.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF  
RICHMOND.

November 17, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am much obliged to your grace for your very kind letter of the 15th, which I received by the machine. Whatever others might have imagined, I never thought your grace too tenacious of your opinions. If you had rather leaned to that extreme, I should not have esteemed you the less for it. I have seen so many woful examples of the effect of levity, both that which arises from temper and that which is owing to interest, that a small degree of obstinacy is a quality not very odious in my eyes, whether it be complexional, or from principle. When a man makes great sacrifices to his honest opinion, it is no wonder that he should grow fond of it. I am sure that nothing can hinder public spirit from being very suspicious, except great consistency. Those who do not much admire the security itself, nor perhaps the virtue



it secures, will represent it as a mask, and perhaps the virtue as an obstinate and intractable disposition. Those who think in that manner of your grace, form that opinion on your steady attachment to your principles. They know nothing of your compliance and practicability, in carrying on business among your friends. I can bear witness that it has always been full as much as was necessary towards keeping a great system well compacted together in all its parts. I have known some good effects of that practicability. I agree, too, that there have been instances where we may now have reason to wish you had less facility. After all, every political question that I have ever known, has had so much of the *pro* and *con* in it, that nothing but the success could decide which proposition ought to have been adopted. People in a constant minority can have no success, and therefore, have not even that uncertain way of solving any problem of political conduct. I believe we have had more divisions among ourselves than we ought to have had, and have made many mistakes in our conduct, both as a body and as individuals. Comparing our proceedings with any abstract standard, we have been very faulty and imperfect; but if you try yourselves by a comparison with any other existing body of men, I believe you will find a more decent, regular, consistent, and prudent series of proceeding among

yourselves, than among any of them, or all of them put together. Have you in any place where you have had an interest undone yourselves so completely, as a certain party which was lately in possession of the corporation of London? a set of gentlemen who cannot plead innocence and simplicity as an excuse for their innumerable blunders. In the House of Lords, have the chiefs of you ever framed such injudicious motions, paid so little attention to your mutual honour, or contrived to reconcile your proceedings at one time to your declarations at another, with so little *finesse* and dexterity as some persons of very high name in this country? You have not, like them, while they were miserably distracted among themselves, formed a thousand childish and mischievous plots, to break to pieces the only people who could possibly serve them, and in whom, if they had common sense, they would, for their own sakes, have placed great confidence, as well as have endeavoured to acquire the like from them, by every method of fair and conciliatory conduct. If you turn from them to the factions that make what is called administration, surely you are guiltless of that tissue of absurdities by which government, that by mere abuses can hardly be more than odious, has been rendered the most contemptible thing in the world. Look at home,—one has much to complain of. Look abroad,—

one has ten times more. So that on the whole, I am inclined to think that the faults in your body are no more than the ordinary frailties of human nature; some of them, too, inseparably attached to the cause of all your strength and reputation. You are, in general, somewhat languid, scrupulous, and unsystematic; but men of high birth and great property are rarely as enterprising as others, and for reasons that are very natural. Men of integrity are curious, sometimes too curious, in the choice of means; and great bodies can seldom be brought to system and discipline, except by instruments that, while you are out of government, you have not in your power. However, with all these faults, it is better you should be rich, and honest, and numerous, than needy and profligate, and composed of a few desperate politicians; though they have advantages in their own way, which you must always want. It is with such reflections I compose and comfort myself, in the occasional dejections and vexations that I am subject to like other men, and which your grace has seen but too much of; and they will in my cool moments always put me at ease, and reconcile me to every thing you do, as long as I can act in public, whether I agree in opinion with the rest of you, or not.

As to your grace's situation in the party and in the world, it would be the greatest injustice to

Lord Rockingham, not to say that he sees and feels his obligations to you in their full extent, and has often spoke, as he ought, of the unparalleled part you have acted. His nearest and oldest friends are, much in the same degree, your own. There can be but one opinion on your conduct and abilities. With regard to others, your grace is very sensible that you have not made your court to the world, by forming yourself to a flattering exterior; but you put me in mind of Mr. Wilkes's observation when he makes love, that he will engage in such a pursuit against the handsomest fellow in England, and only desires a month's start of his rival on account of his face. Your month is past; and if your grace does not, every one else does remark, how much you grow on the public, by the exertion of real talent and substantial virtue. You know you have already some fruits of them, and you will gather in such fruits every day, until your barns are full as they can hold. One thing, and but one, I see against it, which is, that your grace dissipates your mind into too great a variety of minute pursuits, all of which, from the natural vehemence of your temper, you follow with almost equal passion. It is wise, indeed, considering the many positive vexations, and the innumerable bitter disappointments of pleasure in the world, to have as many resources of satisfaction as possible within one's power.



Whenever we concentrate the mind on one sole object, that object and life itself must go together. But though it is right to have reserves of employment, still some one object must be kept principal; greatly and eminently so; and the other masses and figures must preserve their due subordination, to make out the grand composition of an important life. Upon these sound principles, which your grace would require in some of those arts that you protect, your public business, with all its discouragements and mortifications, ought to be so much the principal figure with you, that the rest, in comparison of it, should be next to nothing; and even in that principal figure of public life, it will be necessary to avoid the exquisiteness of an over-attention to small parts; and to over-precision, and to a spirit of detail, which acute understandings, and which, without great care, all precise reasoners are apt to get into; and which gives, in some degree, a sort of hardness, and what you connoisseurs call the dry manner, to all our actions. Your grace has abundant reason not to be discouraged from the great exhibition that I wish to see you chiefly intent upon. In the course of public business, by degrees, your grace develops your true character. You would be in a bad condition, if, with the doors shut after the manner of the French, but on the principle of the English constitution, you were to be tried only by

your peers. But this is not so; business, by degrees, brings various kinds and descriptions of men into contact with you; and they all go off with the best impressions, and communicate them to the world. Why have I rambled thus far? Why, truly, because it became an amusement to my mind; and that I see your grace wants some amusement too. But is the indulgence of a loquacious vein any amusement? I will try by going on further. I agree with your grace, that our condition is very bad. It is certainly so. It can be concealed, neither from friends nor enemies. The time for secession is past, and no other such opportunity is in prospect. It would have done, I am persuaded; but none of our friends are to blame for this rejection of that idea. On the first proposal, Lord Temple, Lord Lyttleton, and Lord Camden showed such invincible repugnance to it, that in your then situation it could not be thought of; and it was impossible at that time to take a separate walk from them. With regard to the transaction of 1767, I do recollect that I, as well as others, did, in some particulars, differ from your grace's opinion. I think you will do me the justice to believe, that it was not out of any particular regard to Bedford House. Indeed, independently of my former observations, I saw clearly, during the supper at Lord Rockingham's, the most unamiable dispositions; a behaviour in some of them

that was scarcely polite; and a reserve, which wine, circulated briskly until the sunbeams drove us from it, was not able to dispel, though these people are not indeed candid, but naturally very loose and careless talkers. But I thought I saw too, that the whole treaty, on the part of the Duke of Grafton and Lord Camden, and much more another, was merely an imposition both on you and on Conway;—principally meant to bring the latter to act the part he did afterwards; and I can scarcely forbear being still of opinion, they never meant to bring you in, except on terms that, when they became explicit, you could neither have accepted nor rejected, without great detriment and disgrace to you. I conclude this, not only from the closet disavowal in the middle of your proceedings, but from a conversation with General Conway, a few days after all was broke off, in which he very frankly told me, that the intention never was to bring in the whole even of *your* body, but about half a dozen (I think) of the principal people; and to let you make way for the rest as opportunities should offer. Constituted as the remaining part of the ministry was, this was a novel plan of power which would enable you to serve your cause. Your grace, I dare say, recollects that we did all, in effect and substance, at last accede to your grace's opinion; when, after a long consultation, protracted to near two o'clock

in the morning, and after frequent messages backward and forward, your grace at length carried the ultimatum to General Conway, and never received an answer from that day to this. On the whole, I saw so little real intention towards you at that time, either in the Duke of Grafton, or Lord Camden, or General Conway, or in the first mover, that I cannot, without great difficulty, attribute our present condition to our rejection of the proposals of the court; for, in effect, if they had been such as your grace thought them, the treaty never could have broken off on account of Bedford House, which had broken with you, and that in a manner equally insolent and scandalous, before that business concluded. Your grace remembers well the character of the Duke of Newcastle, who always treated with his enemies, in beginning by putting himself into their power, and by offering more than they would think of asking; and whose jealousy, little short of phrensy, of Lord Rockingham, about objects which he neither would nor could have held, drove him headlong into any snare his adversaries laid for him. Lord Albemarle, too, had his attention to the Duke of Bedford; but I must say with as great, as just suspicions of him and his, as with attachment to you, on the total. Yet it was very necessary to look to both these persons; and they, at least one of them, and the most material, required no-



thing more than an empty compliment ; and this the court knew, or might have known, as well as we did. But whether I am mistaken or not, the thing being passed, it only gives pain to attribute our misfortunes to our faults, where circumstances will not suffer our repentance to amend them. Bad they are indeed ! but where things are desperate with regard to power, they are not always in a situation the most unfavourable to character. Decorum, firmness, consistency, courage, patient, manly perseverance,—these are the virtues of despair. They are worth something, surely ; and none has profited so much of that situation as your grace, nor could you have shown of what materials you are made in any other. Persons in your station of life ought to have long views. You people of great families and hereditary trusts and fortunes, are not like such as I am, who, whatever we may be, by the rapidity of our growth, and even by the fruit we bear, and flatter ourselves that, while we creep on the ground, we belly into melons that are exquisite for size and flavour, yet still are but annual plants, that perish with our season, and leave no sort of traces behind us. You, if you are what you ought to be, are in my eye the great oaks that shade a country, and perpetuate your benefits from generation to generation. The immediate power of a Duke of Richmond, or a Marquis of Rockingham,

is not so much of moment; but if their conduct and example hand down their principles to their successors, then their houses become the public repositories and offices of record for the constitution; not like the Tower, or Rolls-chapel, where it is searched for and sometimes in vain, in rotten parchments under dripping and perishing walls, but in full vigour, and acting with vital energy and power, in the character of the leading men and natural interests of the country. It has been remarked that there were two eminent families at Rome, that for several ages were distinguished uniformly by opposite characters and principles, the Claudian and Valerian. The former were high and haughty, but public-spirited, firm, and active, and attached to the aristocracy. The latter were popular in their tempers, manners, and principles. So far the remark:—but I add that any one, who looks attentively to their history, will see that the balance of that famous constitution was kept up for some ages, by the personal characters, dispositions, and traditionary politics of certain families, as much as by any thing in the laws and orders of the state; so that I do not look upon your time or lives lost, if, in this sliding away from the genuine spirit of the country, certain parties, if possible, if not the heads of certain families, should make it their business, by the whole course of their lives, prin-

cipally by their example, to mould into the very vital stamina of their descendants, those principles which ought to be transmitted pure and unmixed to posterity. Neither Lord Rockingham nor your grace have children: however, you do not want successors of your blood; nor, I trust, heirs of your qualities and your virtues, and of the power which sooner or later will be derived from them. This I say to comfort myself, and possibly your grace, in the present melancholy view of our affairs. "Although the field is lost all is not lost," to give you a line of your Milton, who has somewhat reconciled you to poetry,—and he is an able advocate. For the rest, I can only tell your grace, that \* \* \* \* \*

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Broad Sanctuary, Thursday, Nov. 19, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

I cannot attribute the opening of my letter to mere curiosity, except it were the interested curiosity of some base politician. I should think the villain might be traced, and in some way or

<sup>5</sup> Here the draft breaks off;—the letter has been sought for without success.

other, the principal or the instrumental delinquent punished. A few days before I had received your lordship's by Mr. Thesiger, I wrote pretty largely by the same conveyance, on the subject of my conversation at Pall Mall, and on the opinions of such other friends as I could collect. They were, on the whole, adverse to the idea I suggested to them. As I have stated this matter so much at large, and as your lordship has received Mr. Dowdeswell's long and able letter, it is not necessary to say more by this unconfidential conveyance.

I am somewhat anxious about your lordship's presence at the meeting. This wish is always in subordination to the demands of your health. But as I hope you have not lately gone backward, I incline to flatter myself, that a journey hither would do you more good than harm. It would free us from a great awkwardness of situation. If this meets your lordship at Wentworth, it will be rather late for my purpose, which I might indeed have considered, when I sat down to write. If however, unluckily, I have not blundered so much as I hope I have, I have just to mention to your lordship that the East India Company had yesterday received a message from the treasury, the report of whose contents immediately sunk the stock, I was told, seven per cent.: as the message, which desired to know what plans for



their relief the company had to lay before parliament, conveyed in the end very strongly, an implication that they would not be permitted to make any dividend. This is all the news I hear. My respectful compliments to Lady Rockingham; and believe me, with the greatest truth and affection,

My dear lord,  
Your lordship's most obedient, and  
obliged humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Beaconsfield, Monday, November 23, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

I came hither this day, in order to settle some little affairs, having been rather disagreeably detained in town for about a fortnight. A few hours after my arrival your lordship's messenger brought me your most obliging letter of the 20th. I am pleased that you have taken your final resolution of spending your holidays at Wentworth. As the session approaches, I see the probability of a full attendance of your friends almost vanish. Mr. Dowdeswell will not be in town at

the meeting. I think it rather likely that the Duke of Richmond will continue in the country. On the whole, I am satisfied that your presence in London, with danger to your health, would hurt us all much more, both in our feelings and our interests, than a temporary absence which may tend to give us a longer, a more effectual, and a more satisfactory use of your counsel and assistance. We will do the best we can, that is, we will do as little as we can. For, in truth, what is there left for us to do? In the present state of the popular opinions, of the designs of the court, of the distractions of the company, what can one or two effect, utterly unsupported, if not directly thwarted, by nine-tenths of those who upon common occasions are the only friends we have to rely upon? This is our state, and we must submit to it.

Your lordship sees I confine my present consideration entirely to the affairs of the East India Company, because I am persuaded that, for the present, ministry does not mean to bring any other before us. Sir George Colebrooke has at last lent me, for a day or two, copies of the papers which have been demanded by the treasury. I have looked them over as carefully as the time would admit. I am more convinced than ever of the very flourishing state of their affairs, and that their present embarrassment is

not from a defect of substance, but merely from a difficulty with regard to cash. Into this difficulty they never could have fallen by the mismanagements of their servants abroad; though these have been, I make no doubt, very considerable and very culpable. It is the rapine of parliament, covered under the name of two agreements; one for revenues in India, which never have existed, as a matter of profit, to either of the claimants; another for a speculation upon teas, which had no foundation, and which it is downright extortion in the government to exact, that has given theirs and public credit such a shock. In all the conversations I have had both with Colebrooke and with a person of very opposite character and designs (Mr. Gregory), I have no kind of doubt with myself that a million might and ought to be borrowed, and that there will then be sufficient fund for payment of interest at five per cent., leaving also an ample provision for sinking the principal, provided parliament can prevail upon itself to give up a claim, which, while it has an existence, will never suffer the company or the nation to enjoy a moment's quiet or security. If this loan were authorized by parliament, and the senseless claims abandoned, the proprietors could, with great safety to their capital, divide twelve and a half per cent., and continue to do so, while events suffer their trade to continue in its

present situation. It is true, I was originally of another opinion; but a view of the papers, which have been demanded for purposes wholly adverse to the company, and the most serious consideration of the affair, have made me alter my sentiments. If I do not misapprehend Mr. Dowdeswell, who first gave my mind this turn, he does not object to the reduction of dividend, as supposing it a coercive measure of government, but as a step dangerous to the rights of the company, though taken by themselves; for by this measure the stock, already very low, will fall to the ground; and government, under pretence of a composition or purchase, may with the greatest facility, and without any appearance of arbitrary power, take into their own hands the charter, and, with it, all the rights and possessions of the company. It was the high dividend and high price of stock in 1767, that rescued the company out of their clutches. I would not have your lordship mistake me so far, as to think I would represent the keeping up the dividend at twelve and a half per cent., as a measure that, in the present disposition of ministry, I conceive to be at all practicable. I only speak of it as what I seriously think appears, on the face of the papers, to be the only means of supporting public credit on a proper foundation; and of keeping the company out of the hands of any court projector, who



may think of decorating the crown with the collected spoils of the East. The proprietors, however, who see no other way of getting rid of the incumbrance of the £400,000, are, I think, in general prepared to acquiesce in the reduction to six per cent. The court, I believe, have for the present given up all sort of hope of receiving that sum; and, therefore, have rejected the first, and I really think the only propositions, that can be made for the relief of the company in the present exigency. They are so far from meaning, therefore, to keep up a forced dividend, either to themselves or to the proprietors, by improper borrowing, that I am apprehensive they have fallen into the very opposite extreme. They seem resolved to admit of no dividend whatsoever. Lord North sent a treasury letter to the court of directors, calling on them to lay before him their ideas of a method of relief, and concluded with desiring to know "upon what foundation they intended to declare any dividend." This message came during some sales; and the purport of it having been spread about, I hear caused a fall of seven per cent. in the price of stock. If this wicked project should be carried into execution, it is easy to see that there is an end of the company; and a beginning of such a scene of frauds, impositions, and treasury jobbing of all sorts, both here and in

India, as will soon destroy all the little honesty and public spirit we have left.

I am not governed in my present opinions by any idea of our being tied down to a servile adherence to the maxims which we supported in 1767 ; since it is obvious, that, when we have no interest one way or other in the point, we might be allowed, without any suspicion of deserting our principles, to alter an opinion upon six years' experience, if six years' experience had given us reason to change it. But the fact is, that we never denied,—on the contrary, we always urged it to be the province and duty of parliament to superintend the affairs of this company, as well as every other matter of public concern ; but we considered it as a very different business to enter a house in order to regulate it, from breaking in in order to rob it. We considered it as the duty of parliament to see that the company did not abuse its charter privileges, or misgovern its Asiatic possessions ; but we thought it abominable to declare their dividends in the House of Commons, and to seize their revenues into the hands of the crown. These, I am sure, were our opinions then, and I see no sort of reason for altering them since that time.

On foreign politics, I shall not trouble your lordship, until I hear something more of facts.

I do not hear that they intend to engage us that way, at least not directly, on the meeting. Nor does the reduction of the seamen to 20,000, nor the ministerial attempts on the company, look like an intention of making war.

I am infinitely obliged to Lady Rockingham for her ladyship's intention of honouring me with a letter. Nobody can be more sensible of her ladyship's goodness and condescension, or more willing to obey her commands.

I will detain your messenger no longer ; I have, indeed, little to say, but what I never say but with the greatest truth, that I am,

My dear lord,

Your affectionate and obliged humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

On casting my eye over what I have written, I find I have expressed myself equivocally in one part. It might seem as if Sir George Colebrooke and Mr. Gregory had approved my ideas of borrowing, dividend, &c. This I do not know. I only mean to say that after conversing with them abundantly on the subject of the papers, &c., I am exceedingly confirmed in my opinion of what would be best to do, if I had in my choice what ought to be done.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Goodwood, November 25, 1772.

MY DEAR BURKE,

Although it would have been more inconvenient to me to go to London than I can well describe, I had nevertheless, at your desire, settled every thing here as well as I could, and intended setting off to-day. Your letter, which arrived last night, was like a reprieve, and I shall make use of it.

At the same time, I see that it is not clever to let parliament meet without our friends having previously met, and having agreed upon some plan; and, in the absence of both Lord Rockingham and Dowdeswell, I don't know any body that would take the pains of getting people together but myself; and if there was time, I really believe I should have gone up to town for this end. But, as I have drove my journey off too far, there is not now time to do any real good. Under these circumstances, I mean to defer, at least, my journey to London. As you will be in town, I will beg of you to let me know what passes the first day; which will, I suppose, let us a little into the plan or no-plan of administration; and then I shall see whether it be necessary to go up the beginning of next week, or later, or not at all.

Your opinion, and still more your wishes, will



have great weight with me ; but, I confess, I could wish not to stir from hence till after Christmas ; but I most of all wish to be at some certainty, as I have engaged a large party, some months ago, to come here on the first of December, and stay a month to fox-hunt. Now I must either put them off, or let them know that I expect them : it would be unpleasant to do the latter, and then leave them, or the former, and then be here. Pray therefore let me hear from you soon.

As to East India business, I think your scheme is such, that ministers will never consent to : what, —give up £400,000 for the good of the company ? By no means ; on the contrary, they certainly wish to drive the company to such distress, as to make them throw themselves upon government ; and the only way to parry this is to lower the dividend to six per cent. But I wait to hear from you what they will open to-morrow ; and if there is any thing really worth my attending, you may depend upon me.

Adieu, I am, my dear Burke,

Ever yours most sincerely,

RICHMOND, &c.

P.S. I have ordered my servant to stay in London till Friday noon to bring your letter. I cannot sufficiently thank you for the very pleasant letter you wrote me before : it was long, but not half long enough.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Broad Sanctuary, November 26, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

Lest no other friend should give your lordship an account of this day <sup>6</sup>, I venture a line by the post. In the House of Lords, nothing. In the House of Commons, mover, Mr. Fitzpatrick; seconder, Dr. Burrell. The speech of the first, decent; and let no more of the court-cat out of the bag, than that the company were to have no dividend, agreeably to my Lord North's letter to the directors. Dr. Burrell bullied, threatened directors, servants, proprietors, and the charter itself. Lord North moved for a *secret* committee of thirteen, for which we are to ballot. General Burgoyne gave notice that he would move for the revival of his committee, which, though select was not secret. Lord North at first seemed to give countenance to that committee; but from the ridicule of having two committees for what in effect was one matter, and that one of them was to keep the secret, and the other open to disclose it, and indeed could not avoid disclosing it,—I observed by con-

<sup>6</sup> The opening of parliament.

versation on the floor, after the House was up, that they intended to restrain Burgoyne's committee, which will bring on new absurdity.

Lord North stated the company's basis as very solid, and their distress but accidental. Yet he could countenance a proposition which, at one stroke, decides the beggary of thousands.

The speech is above all comment. I am perfectly pleased that your lordship has fixed in Wentworth, for the holidays. Lord G. Germain is quite satisfied; Sir Charles Saunders and I paid him a visit yesterday. I saw the Duke of Portland. Poor Keppel very indifferent. I am with the truest regard, ever, my dear lord,

Your lordship's most obedient and  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

We dined at the club. Tolerably full, and in great good humour.

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THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Goodwood, Wednesday, December 2, 1772.

MY DEAR BURKE,

The Duke of Portland's servant arrived here this morning with your letter of last night. I ordered my post-chaise immediately, and went to

Uppark to my friend Sir Matthew Fetherstone, to whom I communicated the contents of your letter. I found that all idea of getting him to London was vain. He has been in a very dangerous illness for several months. He is now better, is taking a medicine which does him great good; but he fears, and with great reason, that if he was to venture out he might catch cold, and in his situation it might cost him his life. His property in India stock is very considerable, and he is by no means inattentive to the transactions that relate to it. He agrees with you in thinking, that many things look like government's having some bad design; but he says that, in the present moment, till that design, whatever it is, appears, he does not see what can be done. Indeed, when it does appear, he thinks it will be very difficult to resist; but till then, nothing can be done. To resist a committee of inquiry might even not be right; for though we may guess it means more, till that appears, the mere inquiry is plausible. Sir Matthew rather thinks, upon the whole, that government only mean to get their money, the £400,000, or as much of it as they can, and will agree to any thing that will do this for them; at the same time, if they can hook in any job or patronage they will. His ideas of putting things on a better footing, are, by a more permanent direction for at least three or five years, the re-



cruiting-bill, and the punishment of servants, by some more easy way than a bill in chancery.

I suppose this committee will make some report soon ; but it must take them some time to make themselves masters of so intricate a subject. I think there cannot be time to do any thing in consequence of this report, by a bill in parliament, before Christmas. There is not time. I suppose, therefore, that if any thing hostile is intended, the only thing that can be done will be to postpone the declaration of a dividend till after Christmas. Whether a short bill may do this, or how, I cannot tell ; but I think it impossible to digest any thing reasonable upon so great an object, in so short a time as the three weeks there is to Christmas ; and till some method is agreed upon to enable the company to get the money, I think the dividend cannot be fixed.

I am clearly of opinion, that the company should make no propositions to government, but stand merely on the defensive ; and if they will be but united on this point, and divide six per cent., they may defy all the powers of administration, and will soon be in a flourishing condition.

Now, as to the part our friends should take in this business, I think we shall not act wisely to be over eager in taking a part. We have been much too ready in taking up the cudgels for every body the ministers please to attack ; and the con-

sequence of our readiness has been, that people think we attack only for the sake of opposition, and to get ourselves into place. As soon as we have begun, the world grows to look upon the matter as a political squabble, between a majority and a minority, and do not interest themselves about it. Now, in my opinion, the only way to cure this stupefaction, is to lie by, and let people fight their own battles a little. I would look on quietly, and let the ministers alone; they will then do some crying injustice, and when individuals begin to feel, they will cry out, and come to us to implore our assistance. Then will be the time for us to stir; but, first, to make people understand that without general support we can do no good. Indeed, I would not enter into action again, till I was lugged out by those who now leave us to ourselves.

Having given you this my opinion of the India business, the progress I think it will take, and the part I think we should take, you will not wonder that I should stay in the country. I see by your letter the eagerness you feel in this affair, and that you will blame my coldness; it is not that I feel less than you, but my plan of operation is different.

You laugh at me for staying a fox-hunting. I would give that up, or any thing else, to do real public good; but to do none, I am unwilling to

break up a party of my friends and neighbours, which is met and will stay here some time ; and I might add, that my health is not in a good condition ; for, only going to Uppark in this easterly wind, has made me quite ill. Adieu !

I am ever yours most sincerely,

RICHMOND, &c.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO A PRUSSIAN  
GENTLEMAN.

1772.

SIR,

Permit me to return you my most sincere thanks for the honour of your very obliging letter. Nothing can be more polite than the offer of your correspondence, and nothing more acceptable than your specimen of it.

I hope you will not look on the long delay of my acknowledgments, as a proof that I want the fullest sense of the great favour I have received. I owed you the best considered and the best informed judgment I could make, on the question which you proposed. The answer might affect your property, which you will give me leave to regard as a matter far from indifferent to me. After all, I am obliged to own to you, that the more I have inquired, and the more I have re-

flected, the less capable I find myself of giving you any advice on which I can venture to confide. I have never had any concern in the funds of the East India Company, nor have taken any part whatsoever in its affairs, except when they came before me in the course of parliamentary proceedings. Of late years, the intervention of the claims and powers of government, the magnitude of the possessions in the East, which have involved the concerns of the company with the contentions of parties at home, and with the mass of the politics of Asia and Europe, together with many other particulars, have rendered all reasonings upon that stock a matter of more intricacy and delicacy, than whilst the company was restrained within the limits of a moderate commerce. However, one advantage has arisen from the magnitude of this object, and the discussions which have grown from its importance, that almost every thing relative to it is become very public. The proceedings in parliament and in the India House, have given as many lights to the foreign stockholders as to the inhabitants of this kingdom. Many persons on the continent, as well as here, are more capable of giving you good information than I am; I dare not risk an opinion. I am persuaded you will have the goodness to excuse a caution, which has its rise from my extreme tenderness towards your interest.



With regard to general politics, you judge very properly that we are more removed from them than you are, who live in the centre of the political circle. However, though situated in the circumference, we have our share of concern and curiosity. I am happy to receive that information which I have no right to expect, and no ability to requite. My situation is very obscure and private, and I have scarce any thing to do, but with the minute detail of our own internal economy. To this I confine myself entirely. As to the grand machine, I admire its effects, without being often able to comprehend its operations, or to discover its springs. I look on these events as historical. The distance of place, and absence from management, operate as remoteness of time. I am obliged to you for your account of his Prussian majesty's military arrangements. I make no doubt that a prince so wise and politic will improve his new acquisitions (for I am not to call them conquests) to the best advantage for his power and greatness. I agree no less with your observation, that it was extremely fortunate the three great allied powers were able to find a fourth which was utterly unable to resist any one of them, and much less all united. If this circumstance had not concurred with their earnest inclinations to preserve the public tranquillity, they might have been obliged to find a discharge for the superfluous strength of

their plethoric habits in the destruction of the finest countries in Europe.

One great branch of the alliance has not been quite so fortunate. Russia seems to me still to retain, though under European forms and names, too much of the Asiatic spirit in its government and manners to be long well poised and secure within itself; and without that advantage, nothing I apprehend can be done in a long struggle. Turkey is not prey, at least, for those whose motions are sometimes indeed precipitate, but seldom alert. The nature of the Turkish frontier provinces, an immense foss-ditch (if I may so call it) of desert, is a defence made indeed, in a great measure, at the expense of mankind, but still, it is a great defence; and the applicability, if not the extent, of the Turkish resources are much greater than those of their northern enemy. It is not now likely that my paradoxical wish should be answered, or that I should live to see the Turkish barbarism civilized by the Russian. I don't wish well to the former power. Any people but the Turks, so seated as they are, would have been cultivated in three hundred years; but they grow more gross in the very native soil of civility and refinement. I was sorry for the late misfortunes of the Russians; but I did not so well know how much of it they owed to their own obstinacy. Misfortunes are natural and inevitable

to those who refuse to take advantage of the king of Prussia's lights and talents. You say that he was their Cassandra: if so, these people are inexcusable indeed; surely nothing could be less remote than his predictions from the ravings of virgin simplicity. They were oracles directly from the very tripod of Apollo. The rest of mankind do more justice to the heroic intellect, as well as to the other great qualities, of the king your master.

Pray, dear sir, what is next? These powers will continue armed. Their arms must have employment. Poland was but a breakfast, and there are not many Polands to be found. Where will they dine? After all our love of tranquillity, and all expedients to preserve it, alas, poor Peace!

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RICHARD BURKE, SENR., ESQ., TO WILLIAM  
BURKE, ESQ.

London, Friday evening, January 6, 1773.

THANKS to you, William, for your letter. I take it for granted that Edmund is in town, but that I shall not know to a certainty is equally certain, and it is (I fear) more than possible that I shall not know to-morrow, at least not in the forenoon. City, city, O! city! not, when shall I see thee?

but when shall I say,—may my head remain on Temple-bar, if ever my body passes it! News, indeed, I have none, but an anecdote I have: take it. A company of *beaux esprits*, Garrick, Johnson, Dean of Derry, Fox, &c., &c., dined with Reynolds. Brilliant yet easy, but good humour was curry curry-stick; in the midst of which, in a conversation on the subject, the dean observed, or, if you will, asserted, that after forty-five a man did not improve. “I differ with you, sir; a man may improve; and you yourself have great room for improvement.” The dean was confounded, and for the instant silent. The others forced another subject; but it went, as such subjects must, heavily. The dean recovering,—“On recollection, I see no cause to alter my opinion, except I was to call it improvement for a man to grow (which I allow he may) positive, rude, and insolent, and save arguments by brutality.” The other groaned an intention to reply; but a second, and more successful effort of the company to change the discourse, succeeded. He has since confessed his bad behaviour, telling Mrs. Thrale that he did not know what ailed him. Why do I tell you this? Why, to introduce the inclosed, or subjoined, copy of verses, sent early next morning to Reynolds. But why that “or”? Thus:—Jo. King took them from me, stipulating to give me back a copy of them this evening. Oh! he is come in: but, as



to copy—well, here they follow, and then, adieu !  
for here are now three Kings and English <sup>7</sup>; and so  
adieu : may Heaven bless you !

I lately thought no man alive,  
Could e'er improve past forty-five,  
And ventured to assert it ;  
The observation was not new,  
But seem'd to me so just and true,  
That none could controvert it.

“ No sir,” says Johnson, “ 'tis not so ;  
That's your mistake, and I can show  
An instance, if you doubt it ;—  
You, sir, who are near forty-eight,  
May much improve, 'tis not too late ;  
I wish you'd set about it.”

Encouraged thus to mend my faults,  
I turn'd his counsel in my thoughts,  
Which way I should apply it ;  
Learning and wit seem'd past my reach,  
For who can learn where none will teach ?  
And wit—I could not buy it.

Then come, my friends, and try your skill,  
You can improve me if you will ;  
(My books are at a distance :)  
With you I'll live and learn ; and then,  
Instead of books, I shall read men ;  
So lend me your assistance.

<sup>7</sup> Three of the family of King, (one of whom was afterwards Bishop of Rochester,) and who, as well as Mr. English, were intimate friends of the Burkes.

Dear knight of Plympton, teach me how  
To suffer, with unruffled brow,  
And smile serene, like thine ;  
The jest uncouth or truth severe,  
To such apply my deafest ear,  
And calmly drink my wine.

Thou say'st, not only skill is gain'd,  
But genius too may be obtain'd,  
By studious imitation ;  
Thy temper mild, thy genius fine,  
I'll copy, till I make them mine,  
By constant application.

Thy art of pleasing, teach me, Garrick :  
Thou who reversest odes Pindarick \* ;  
A second time read o'er :  
Oh ! could we read thee backwards too,  
Last thirty years thou shouldst review,  
And charm us thirty more.

If I have thoughts and can't express 'em,  
Gibbon shall teach me how to dress 'em  
In terms select and terse ;  
Jones teach me modesty—and Greek ;  
Smith how to think ; Burke how to speak,  
And Beauclerk to converse.

Let Johnson teach me how to place  
In fairest light each borrow'd grace,  
From him I'll learn to write ;  
Copy his clear and easy style,  
And from the roughness of his file,  
Grow, as himself,—polite !

\* Garrick read Cumberland's ode backwards.

Finis—with two cakes, merry twelfth-day! Oh, the advantages of a poetical friend! Remember: you have a long letter without news.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Broad Sanctuary, January 10, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

My last was written a little before our concluding debate in the House of Commons, upon the India supervision bill. The smallness of our minority did not alarm me, though it was in reality rather lower than I imagined it would be. Other things happened on that day which surprised me a good deal more, and furnished occasion for much more unpleasant reflections. The slender appearance of friends might be well enough attributed to the season, and to the want of discipline arising from the nature of a minority, and the absence of our leader. The part which Lord George Germain took on that occasion did us great mischief at the time, and has been no small matter of triumph to the enemy ever since. My lord chancellor<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Henry, Baron Apsley, afterwards Earl Bathurst; appointed chancellor in January, 1771.

thought proper to cast it in the Duke of Richmond's teeth, in the House of Lords. Indeed, the smallness of our division, and the impossibility of bringing our best friends to the support of our measures, were in a manner the sole arguments used in the House of Lords in favour of the ministerial bill.

Your lordship will, I dare say, think we did right in dividing, notwithstanding the probable smallness of the numbers. It was right to put the gentlemen who chose to think with ministry, into the division along with them. It was necessary to show to them and to others, that this kind of conduct in some friends, cannot abate our confidence in the rectitude of our principles. It is not right that reason should be governed by whim or pique, let it be the pique or the whim of whoever it may. To divide showed a weakness in numbers; to shrink from the division, would have shown weakness of mind and indecision of character, which is, or ought to be, of ten times worse consequence to us. In truth the battle for power is over; nothing now remains but to preserve consistency and dignity. Lord George Germain told me he hoped we would not divide. "I was very sorry that we should ever differ in opinion from his lordship, but we must look to ourselves in the *first place*. These had ever been our sentiments, and no human consideration should hinder me (for one) from dividing



the House." I need not say that I had not taken this resolution without concurring with Lord John Cavendish and Dowdeswell, whose opinions were sufficient for me.

I am apt to think that, notwithstanding the extraordinary line which Lord George has taken, he has no connexions with the ministry, nor is any negotiation likely to be opened between them. In talking over this disagreeable circumstance, it has been attributed to several causes. None of them are inconsistent with the others, and all of them, I believe, are in some degree real. Strange as it may appear, with regard to a man of his time of life, and his habits of business, he feels himself flattered by having been nominated to the select committee. He is entertained beyond measure with the anecdotes he learns there; and this amusement and importance give him a strong leaning towards those who promote inquiries productive of such agreeable effects. The Duke of Richmond thinks, and I believe his grace is in the right, that Lord George is not quite satisfied in not having the lead of your lordship's friends in the House of Commons, and is therefore not displeased with any opportunity of throwing difficulties in the way of those measures which he does not direct. I am not sure that, along with all these, a certain natural and a certain professional leaning to strong acts of power, and to a high

authority in the crown, have not their full operation on his conduct, and give him a bias towards the court in all that they attempt against the independence of the company. Besides, I find that, whether from some remains of old Grenvillian connexion, or from whatever other cause, Lord Clive has obtained a considerable ascendant over him, and Lord Clive has acted such a part as might be expected from his character.

Much as I esteem Lord George Germain in some things, and admire him in many things, I must say, he has not taken the measure of all the party with his usual ability, if it be any part of his plan to have the lead of us in the House of Commons. The object he looks for seems to me quite unpracticable, even though Mr. Dowdeswell did not exist. I am sure while he does exist, we cannot find a leader whom a man of honour and of judgment would so soon choose to follow. In argument Lord George is apt to take a sort of undecided, equivocal, narrow ground, that evades the substantial merits of the question, and puts the whole upon some temporary, local, accidental, or personal consideration. I know that this method is much admired by some people as very parliamentary. Indeed, in some circumstances, it is right. When the objects of opposition are frivolous, it is advisable not to lay down principles which might embarrass upon a

future occasion. But perhaps, in such cases, it were full as advisable not to oppose at all. Where a variety of different sentiments are to be reconciled in one vote, such a mode of proceeding has, I also admit, its use. But then one ought to know that those whom we wish to please do themselves wish to be pleased; or else we lose more by not standing by our own principle, than we gain by our partial and seeming conformity to theirs. I am clear that my latter parliamentary experience has been all upon that side. This oblique method, taken as a general way of proceeding, is so alien to the sentiments of some, and so repugnant to the natural temper and cast of their minds, that I suspect no authority of a leader could ever oblige them to take their fixed post upon such ground. Whatever it may do within the House, it makes no figure at all without doors, and has no other effect than to persuade the people that the opposition acts without any sort of principle. The questions which have been agitated during this reign, are almost all of them *leading points*, on which it is very necessary that men should have a decided opinion, and that their opinion should be known. If I were to choose an example of the ill effects of this method of stating the grounds of an opposition, I would go no further than to the very last debate. I speak upon a supposition that the in-

tentions were fair and simple. When the motion was made for leave to bring in the bill, he spoke against it. But he chose to make his opposition upon the supposed resolution of the directors not to send out the commission. He not only founded himself upon this hollow and insufficient bottom (bad as principle, though proper as subsidiary), but he did it to the entire exclusion of any other; for he declared, at the same time, that if he were not persuaded such was the intention of the company, nobody should be more forward in restraining the commission than himself. In this manner he chose to admit the *principle* of the bill, and left it to accidents, or indeed rather to the discretion of the ministry, to guide his conduct in the succeeding steps of its progress.

Accordingly, they got one of their instruments in the India House, at the moment when the petition against this very bill was in agitation, to move a suspension of the commission, which motion, as most insidious and most unseasonable, was put by with a previous question. It is true that Lord G. was under no necessity of voting for the bill afterwards, as their putting a previous question was no proof that commission would be sent out, and as no man believed that the commissioners would venture themselves from home, in the present disposition of parliament, without ministerial authority. However, the narrowness



of his ground did put him into difficulties. He supported the bill on the third reading, which he had opposed on the first suggestion. Now what sort of figure should those of us, who thought this bill radically wrong, make upon such ground chosen by our leader? unpleasant to desert him, undoubtedly,—much worse to desert our conscience and principles. These are dilemmas to which this narrow politic ground will always expose an opposition. One can scarcely put one foot firm on it, and if you lose your balance never so little, you tumble down a precipice on the one side or the other.

I find I have got a great way on this subject. But no persons except those who were present can rightly conceive the mischief which has happened to us by the kind of part Lord G. G. thought proper to take; not only on account of the methods, but on account of the extraordinary degree of warmth and vehemence with which he pursued them. I need not say with what shouts of applause his speech was received by the majority. Such success attending such conduct cannot fail to encourage *him* to a perseverance in it, as well as *others* to an imitation of it. Besides, it does so damp and dishearten all that act with us, that though no man can be more sensible than I am of the great advantage you derive from the wealthy connexion, which, if he has not brought,

he at least tends to keep with your lordship, and of the weight you have from his personal ability in parliament, yet I do venture to say, that three such days in the House of Commons would more than overbalance all these advantages, and even much greater; and that if no method can be found of convincing his lordship that this mode of acting is infinitely prejudicial to the interest which he honours with his apparent support, it would be far better the world understood you had no connexion, and that he went directly and avowedly to the ministry.

I saw no friend of ours in the majority but old Tommy Townshend <sup>10</sup>. His son stayed away. These are men of, I believe, the very nicest principles of honour, and of very good understandings, I can readily allow; for the difficulties into which they have been led in this business, while they thought they were following Lord Chatham, under the direction of the court guides, into whose management he had put those friends of his and your lordship's, who suffered their public principles to be turned into a blind confidence in him. It is better that they should leave us now and then, than degrade themselves by any thing like inconsistency, even where they took up their opinions

<sup>10</sup> The Hon. Thomas Townshend, father of Mr. Thomas Townshend, who was created Lord Sydney in 1783.

on a very slight consideration, or rather wholly on the authority of others. In that view I look upon Tommy Townshend's staying away rather in the light of a civility to his friends than otherwise. But still, not being at all willing, nor indeed wholly able to blame him, I cannot but lament that every now and then he is disposed to a great deference to the opinions of those who are at most but allies to that body which I am sure he loves by far the best. Latterly he became a great admirer of George Grenville. Since then, Lord George Germain has more weight with him than any body else. It is somewhat singular and a little vexatious, that when your lordship was so strongly disposed to the idea of our absenting ourselves from parliament, those upon whose authority that proposition was overruled, (at least they had a very considerable share in promoting the attendance,) should be the very persons who, when we are met in conformity to their opinions, make no other use of that opportunity than to show the distractions that prevail among us, and to give all possible support to those ministerial measures which they must have foreseen would be proposed, and which they knew, by our former conduct, we were bound to oppose. It was a prospect of this that made me give so heartily into the idea started by the Duke of Richmond last summer, of our absenting ourselves from the House. I am sure it

were much better keep away, than to come to the House with no other purpose than to dispute among ourselves, divert the ministry, and divide twenty-eight. It is certain that the East India affairs will be the perpetual business of parliament ; and unless we can be made to form some sort of system upon that subject, and come to see the necessity either of understanding the matter, every man for himself, or of taking the authority of some among ourselves whose understandings and conduct make them deserving of trust, we are strengthening the hands of our adversaries every day we take our places in parliament.

As to the people abroad, I told your lordship in my last, that I found them far better disposed than I originally expected. I am sure they would in general go with an opposition to the proceedings of the court. They might be easily brought to perceive what is in reality the fact, that they mean to screen and not to punish offenders ; that they mean not to reform abuses, but to take away franchises ; and that they only attack the company, in order to transfer their wealth and their influence to the court. I mentioned to your lordship, that I had taken some pains upon this subject. I saw and spoke to several ; possibly I might have done service to the cause, but I did none to myself. This method of going hither and thither, and agitating things personally, when it is



not done in chief, lowers the estimation of whoever is engaged in such transactions, especially as they judge in the House of Commons, that a man's intentions are pure, in proportion to his languor in endeavouring to carry them into execution. However, thus much I have learned to a great certainty, that the people will not be more wanting to us upon this, than upon any other business, if we are not wanting to ourselves.

Your lordship's presence, I trust, will bring things again into order. Nobody but yourself can do it. We fall into confusion the moment you turn your back; and though you have the happiness of many friends of very great ability and industry, and of unshakable fidelity to the cause, nobody but yourself has the means of rightly managing the different characters, and reconciling the different interests, that make up the corps of opposition. God forbid that even this should be compassed at the expense of your health; but that I hope is restored, and I flatter myself we shall feel the good effects of it.

The Duke of Richmond did wonderfully well in the House of Lords. Somebody observed that he was a host of debaters in himself. I heard him on the last day's debate, as strangers were admitted along with the council. I was told that the Duke of Portland spoke extremely well on presenting the petition. If his grace gave his

excellent understanding a direction that way, I am sure he would make a public speaker of very great weight and authority. I could wish your lordship would converse a little with Sir G. Savile on these subjects. We know his motives for staying away. Those who heard his disclaimer of the select committee, may also remember them. This is very true, but still to the majority his absence will seem a condemnation of our conduct; and of what weight that apparent tacit condemnation is, every one may discern, who knows how much the strength of our cause has arisen from its having his support. I have said nothing to him on this subject; I was not entitled to that freedom, and it would indeed be giving him uneasiness to no effect; and that I would not willingly do, even though some moderate good effect should follow it.

If your lordship's friends are not pretty generally got together early, and properly talked to, permit me, my lord, with the earnestness that our good cause infuses into me, to repeat again, that nothing but disgrace can attend our half-digested and half-enforced operations. When I receive your lordship's commands I shall attend; when I hear things are in a right train, I shall attend with pleasure.

In the mean time I profit of this little cessation of business, to apply to the education of my son,

and to the means of his doing something for himself in the world. I shall have nothing else to leave him; and your lordship, and all those I wish to please, would censure me, if I were wholly negligent in this point. The boy deserves well of me, for he is not idle, and he has a good disposition. He is lately entered a student of Christ Church in Oxford; and answered, on the examination, to the satisfaction of those who examined him. I think he is full young for the University; and the Bishop of Chester has been so good as to indulge him with a year's leave of absence. It is a good time to form his tongue to foreign languages. I feel, almost every day of my life, the inconvenience of wanting them. So I propose to take him with me to Blois. Mr. Hampden speaks well of that place for pleasantness, cheapness, and total freedom from the resort of English. My friend Mr. King<sup>11</sup> continuing his uncommon regards towards us both, will be with him. I am advised to go by Paris. Whenever I know your lordship's wishes, I shall be with

<sup>11</sup> The Reverend Thomas King, brother of Dr. Walker King, afterwards Bishop of Rochester,—of Captain James King, R.N., the celebrated navigator,—of Mr. John King, some time under-secretary of state in the Home-office,—and of Mr. Edward King, of Gray's Inn. Mr. Burke was for many years on terms of close intimacy with all the members of this family.

you in a few days, I don't intend to remain a week in Paris, as I go out. On my return I shall stay there until your lordship informs me that something is put into train at home.

This is Thursday; I mean to set out on Sunday morning. I came to town to-day, and called at Dowdeswell's. He is out of town; but I hear he will return to-morrow, and then I shall have an opportunity of talking with him. Your lordship will be so kind as to present my most dutiful compliments to Lady Rockingham. I am ever, with the truest affection and attachment,

My dear lord,

Ever your lordship's most obliged friend  
and humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

Broad Sanctuary, January 10, 1773.

I THINK of writing a short note from Calais to Mr. Bentinck. Since I finished the above I received your lordship's most welcome letter, and am extremely obliged to you for it. It is true that the line of defence settled by the counsel was turned in the manner your lordship has mentioned. If they had omitted it, they would have suffered equally. No abuses stated. The reason of expense assigned in the preamble would have had great strength, for small abuses will not justify expensive arrangements. If the abuses were



proved to be *great*, then they were above their measure. This I say from a sense of the temper of the House; for I had no share in concerting their plan, further than that on hearing they meant to examine evidence, I was in hopes that they might embarrass the ministry in point of time. The line to which your lordship thinks they ought to have stuck entirely was strongly marked by them, but it received the same disadvantageous turn. Several of the minority<sup>12</sup> gave the company's having contested the right and propriety of parliamentary interference, as the reason for their vote for the bill. When any body is doomed to destruction, all the arguments he alleges for his safety become new grounds for cutting him off. It was well observed by the counsel, that in the year 1767, when the court, by a law of its own, limited its dividend, and therefore prayed that an act of parliament should not pass for that purpose, it was retorted on them that the act did no more than confirm *what they had done themselves*. Now he found the chief reason urged for passing the bill was, *that they declined themselves to restrain their supervision*, so that whether they declined, or did not decline the use of their franchises, the reason was equally cogent for taking them away. Just in that impertinent<sup>13</sup>, sophistical manner did they

<sup>12</sup> By minority is here meant the opposition.

<sup>13</sup> In the sense of "irrelevant."

argue then and now; every thing is a reason to people for doing what they choose to do. I think it not unlikely that Mr. Dowdeswell will tell you of a visit he has had from Cornewall<sup>1</sup>, after a long absence. The Shelburnes seem to repent of having done nothing in this business, and appear rather disposed to come round. My clear opinion is, that however I may like, as I do, some individuals in that body, the corps, as a corps, is nought; and that no time or occasion can probably occur, in which, in the way of consultation or communication, it would be right to have any thing to do with them. My great uneasiness is about our own corps, which appears to me in great danger of dissolution. Nothing can prevent it in my opinion, but the speedy and careful application of your lordship's own peculiar, persuasive, and conciliatory manner, in talking over public business, and leading them into a proper line of conduct. I know they flatter themselves that it is on this only occasion that they shall differ. But what occasion is there, that in its nature can occur

<sup>1</sup> Charles Wolfran Cornewall, a lord of the treasury under Lord North, from March, 1774, to September, 1780. He was member for Grampound in the parliament of 1768, for Winchelsea in that of 1774, and for Rye in 1780 and 1784. Mr. Burke alludes to him at the commencement of his speech on American taxation, of April 19, 1774. He was speaker in the parliaments of 1780 and 1784, and died in 1790, when he was succeeded in the chair by Lord Grenville.

so often, continue so long, or lead into consequences so completely ruinous to public interest and public virtue? Is not this the great object of the court? If they carry their point in this, of what advantage is any future contest? Besides, the very habit of confiding in the plans of their old enemies, is dangerous to the existence of a party in opposition. Never had people less reason for such confidence, than we have in this ministry, and in this very business.

Our friends, too, think they do very handsomely, when they say they will oppose the design of seizing on the company's patronage, when that design is openly avowed by the court. It never will be avowed in its extent, and the plan never will (for a plain reason, that it never can,) be executed at one stroke. The business will be done covertly and piecemeal, and our friends will help it forward in the detail, and thus completely finish it, in hopes of some time or other opposing it in the gross.

I see I run over and over the same ideas. Your lordship will be so good to excuse this extreme, and, I rather hope, unusual prolixity. I think your presence much wanted, and early, in order to take a review of the troops before the opening of the next campaign, that, if you should not find them in readiness for action, you would persuade them to remain quietly in their quarters.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO MR. RICHARD BURKE  
JUN., AND MR. T. KING.

Paris, February, 1773.

MY DEAR CHILDREN,

While I wait with some impatience to hear of your health, and your satisfaction in your new settlement<sup>2</sup>, I just write to give you the pleasure of knowing that we got to Paris late at night, Tuesday, but well as we could wish, without any troublesome accident whatsoever. I can write but little now, but I make amends, by sending you two letters from your mamma. I received others from Mr. Burke and my brother, but though

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Burke, when in Paris, having been introduced by Colonel Drumgoold to M. de Cicé, then bishop of Auxerre, made an arrangement for placing his son and Mr. King under that prelate's protection at Auxerre. The bishop, with great kindness, prevailed on his man of business at that place to take these gentlemen to board and lodge in his family, where they met very agreeable society; and young Burke in a short time accomplished the principal object of his visit to France, in obtaining great fluency in speaking and a critical knowledge of the French language. In the days of the revolution, the bishop, driven from Auxerre, came a poor and aged emigrant to England, when the Burkes, father and son, requited, as far as lay in their power, the bishop's former kindness.



they relate to you, and are full of such expressions of kindness to you both as would be very agreeable to you, yet as they contain some matters for my direction, in some particulars here, I must keep them. I write from Mr. Panchaud's, who will send Mr. King a bill for twenty-five louis next Friday, which is the soonest that it can be remitted to you; for the rest I shall settle in a few days: I may stay at Paris ten days or a fortnight longer. So don't neglect, one or the other of you, to write to me constantly. My good friends, while I do most earnestly recommend you to take care of your health and safety, as things most precious to us, I would not have that care degenerate into an effeminate and over-curious attention, which is always disgraceful to a man's self, and often troublesome to others. So you know my meaning, when I wish you again and again to take care of yourselves for our sake. So, when I wish you to avoid superfluous expenses, as giving the mind loose and bad habits, be aware that I wish you to avoid every thing that is mean, sordid, illiberal, and uncharitable, which is much the worst extreme. Do not spare yourselves nor me in this point. As you are now a little setting up for yourselves, suffer me to give you a little direction about the article of *giving*. When others of decent condition are giving along with you, never give more than they do; it is rather

an affront to them, than a service to those that desire your little bounty. Whatever else you do, do it separately. But always preserve a habit of giving (but still with discretion), however little, as a habit not to be lost. When I speak of this, the funds of neither of you are large, and perhaps never may become so. So that the first thing is justice. Whatever one gives, ought to be from what one would otherwise spend, not from what he would otherwise pay. To spend little and give much, is the highest glory a man can aspire to. As to studies, I do not wish you, till you have conquered a little the difficulties of the French, to apply to any thing else but that and Greek. More would distract and hurt, so don't trouble yourselves with geometry and logic, until you hear from me on the subject. Reading, and much reading, is good; but the power of diversifying the matter infinitely in your own mind, and of applying it to every occasion that arises, is far better, so don't suppress the *vivida vis*. May God grant you every blessing. Remember Him first, and last, and midst. Keep yourselves constantly in his presence. Again and again, God bless you.

Your ever affectionate father,

EDM. BURKE.

My most hearty respects to the family you are with, to Abbé Vauillier, and the very worthy and

ingenious gentlemen who are so worthy of his friendship, to the Count D'Esper, and all friends. Adieu!

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## MEMORANDA BY EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.,

ADDRESSED TO GENTLEMEN FORMING THE OPPOSITION IN  
PARLIAMENT.

1773.

The plan of the ministerial attempt against the East India Company is now fully opened, and if, at the same time, the eyes of the leading people are not fully opened on all the consequences of that attempt, if it should succeed, it will be no purpose to think of any counter-plan for opposing it.

How far the generality of men are affected, I am incapable of judging; but I find no small number in the House, who discover a dissatisfaction at what is transacting, and that dissatisfaction appears in quarters where I did not so much expect to find that kind of impression.

To invigorate any design of opposition, the spirit which begins to appear must be cherished and extended. This can only be done by writing, and that not in a desultory and occasional manner, but systematically. It is mortifying to consider that there has been scarce the most trivial

interest, which has not been better explained and enforced to the public than this great concern. This is the great instrument which ought to accompany every other.

The next step which ought to be taken, is to prepare things for a meeting of the principal creditors of the company, for whom the ministers express so much tenderness; and if they can be brought to petition, it will be of the greatest importance. The ground of the petition ought to be, that they look upon the preservation of the company's charter-rights to be the great pillar of the security of their debts; and to call upon government for that money, the taking away of which from the company is the cause of its present difficulties. If this can be done, one of the principal ministerial arguments will be disabled.

A meeting ought immediately to be called of all the peers and members of parliament who are of our sentiments, in order to a regular opposition in parliament.

To get a common-council or common-hall, to whom the company is to apply for its assistance, in a joint support of charter-rights. Besides your own friends, the Recorder, Sawbridge, and Oliver, will unite with you in this business.

To send notice of what is doing to the Dutch proprietors.

As the House of Commons is more easily



approachable by its feelings than its reason, I am clear that all the proprietors that can be got together should make a procession from the India-house to Westminster ; and that they should stand in all the avenues, and, in the most humble manner, request the members not to take away the legal rights of their countrymen. If this be well done, I would be responsible that it will produce some effect.

With regard to the Bank, which is the grand instrument of the court on this occasion, might it not be proper, (if possible,) that some of you of the greatest property should resolve to have nothing to do with their paper ? There are five or six of you that would frighten them.

Ought not all of you that are proprietors to attend the general court, as well as the Duke of Richmond ?

Ought you not to go from the general court to Guildhall, and there make, in the most respectable of your persons, your application to the livery ?

If the matter be of the importance some of us think it, it is below none of you to do this ; you have very little time for deliberation ; while you consult, the act is done. It will then be in vain to blame, and impossible to repair it. For though all power were given into your hands, you can never change the arrangements of this new Indian system.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Beconsfield, July 19, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

Every thing here is so very dead and uninteresting, that I should hardly have thought of troubling you just now, if America had not furnished me with matter which England could not supply. I received a letter from Delancey<sup>3</sup> of the 7th of last month. He makes a friendly complaint that he has not heard any thing from your lordship in answer to his of January. This cause of complaint will shortly cease, if it has not ceased already. His letter it seems related to some anecdotes which appeared in a Boston newspaper. I don't know what these anecdotes were; but it seems they gave him much uneasiness, lest your lordship should think he had acted with dissimulation towards you. To this matter, as being wholly ignorant of it, I can say nothing. There is another less political, and more clear, which I must state to you, because I believe his heart is almost as much set upon it, and I wish to be

<sup>3</sup> Jonathan Delancey, Esq., commissary-general of Virginia, appointed in 1768.

able to say something about it in the letter I propose to write to him the first of next month. He desires me to exert my interest with your lordship, to get Mr. Singleton to send him a clever lad who can ride light weights, as he has entered into some fresh subscriptions; and though he is confident of winning with a good rider, he must certainly lose them if he cannot get such a rider from England. The one he has had from your lordship's stables is grown too heavy to ride, and he has set him up as a keeper of livery-stables. He wishes an answer to this request as soon as possible.

If poor George Grenville was alive, he would not suffer English jockeys to be entered outwards without bond and certificate; or at least he would have had them stamped, or excised, or circumcised, or something should be done to them, to bear the burdens of this poor oppressed country, and to relieve the landed interest. I am afraid his disciples of the present ministry, with the same politics, have not the same industry and courage; and that this jockey-trade will go on without any benefit to the revenue. As things stand, this boy ought to be ensured to the weight he is sent out; for how, for want of exercise and a gross regimen of diet, he may grow into bone and fatten upon the voyage, is more than we know. However, allowance is to be made for that; and if one of

the Singleton school is sent out to civilize America, it will be a good act ; for it is better that they should be contesting about their horses than our acts of trade, and importing our jockeys than turning out our governors.

I see by the papers of this day that Reynolds is dead <sup>4</sup>. I take it for granted that the necessary steps have not been omitted, and that we shall have a fourth Cavendish in parliament. Now I talk of parliamenteering and racing, I found that Lord Verney rather wished me to go to Aylesbury races, at which I have not attended for these four years. I went accordingly, and there found Lord Temple, who also had not been for several years before. He behaved with all the canvassing civility of a candidate. His design, I am told, is to put up his eldest nephew for the county on the next election. He thinks Lord V. is too low in cash to contest with him. I found he paid a very great court to Hampden <sup>5</sup>, who was likewise at Aylesbury. I suppose this design of Lord Temple's is one cause of his management in opposition, in order to conciliate the Tories to give him one vote, and to secure the support of the treasury. He brought the younger of the Grenvilles to the

<sup>4</sup> Francis Reynolds, member for Lancaster. He was succeeded by Lord Richard Cavendish.

<sup>5</sup> The family of Hampden had large estates in the Chiltern part of Buckinghamshire.



racés, and made him steward for the next year. These manœuvres, though I hope and trust they will fail of success, add not a little to my anxiety, and the occasional dejections which, at moments, I feel in spite of myself.

Murrough O'Bryen<sup>6</sup> behaved exceedingly well. He desired that we should be together at the dinner, to show how he would go at the election; and he gave besides very obliging assurances to Lord Verney. This is all I know of the state of Lord Temple's intentions, of which we seem to know nothing, and to take no sort of notice.

The treasury is now to have but two meetings before their recess. Fox has pressed the St. Vincent's business with more activity than was usual with him. My brother has seen Robinson, who appears to be very well disposed. But I scarcely give myself leave to promise him success. However, there is one advantage, that Sir William Young, the constant and most dangerous adversary, is absent, and like to be so for some weeks. Besides, he has little favour at the treasury, except through Cooper; and with what degree of energy that is kept up, I know not.

I am no way acquainted, for some time, with the politics of the East India-house. What I last heard convinces me that the court gains

<sup>6</sup> Murrough, fifth Earl of Inchiquin, afterwards Marquis of Thomond, then residing at Taplow in Buckinghamshire.

ground there every instant. You know that Ellis<sup>7</sup>, Jenkinson<sup>8</sup>, and several others, have qualified, and very largely. The Duke of Richmond seems to have abated much of his activity in that quarter. Perhaps nothing can be done. This weather, which has caught us in the middle of our harvest, has made terrible havock. I am, with the best respects of this house to your lordship and Lady Rockingham,

My dear lord,  
Your lordship's ever obedient and obliged  
humble servant,  
EDM. BURKE.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Broad Sanctuary, September 29, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

Immediately after the arrival of your packet, I set out for Lord Besborough's. I found him at home, and stayed that night. He was extremely

<sup>7</sup> Welbore Ellis, a vice-treasurer of Ireland and a privy-counsellor, created Lord Mendip in 1794.

<sup>8</sup> Charles Jenkinson, afterwards created Lord Hawkesbury, and subsequently Earl of Liverpool. At this time he was a vice-treasurer of Ireland, and a supporter of Lord North's administration.

pleased with your letter to him, which he said was the best he had ever seen upon any subject. I did not greatly differ with him. We talked over the business <sup>9</sup> very much at large. Mr. Ponsonby had given his thoughts upon it, and he showed me the letters he had got from Lord Milton <sup>10</sup> and Lord Shelburne, on his communicating to them the intelligence he had received concerning the intentions of government. They both disapproved of the scheme, and one of them in very strong and warm expressions; but they seemed to entertain some doubts of its existence.

It is not very usual to your lordship to fall into a mistake from an over favourable opinion of the prudence of ministry. In this instance you have been too indulgent to them. Without all doubt

<sup>9</sup> A proposal on the part of the Irish government for a tax of two shillings in the pound on the net rents of Irish estates, the owners of which did not reside, for six months of the year, in Ireland. This measure was advocated in the Irish House of Commons, by Mr. Henry Flood; but having met considerable opposition from the great landed proprietors possessing estates both in England and Ireland, who addressed Lord North on the subject, as well as from other quarters, the project was abandoned by the government. Mr. Burke wrote a letter against it, addressed to Sir Charles Bingham, which is published in the ninth volume, octavo edition, of the works.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph Damer, Lord Milton, afterwards created Earl of Dorchester.

they have adopted the project of a tax on Irish absentees. The information is of the most perfect authenticity. Lord Besborough was indeed reserved in naming his author, having got some caution about it; but his description makes it very clear that he had his intelligence from Lord Hertford, and had it for the purpose of communication to those who are most immediately concerned. Lord Hertford himself was, it seems, the only person who opposed it in council. The rest were unanimous. In their answer to the proposal they said, "that they did not wish this method of raising money. It was their desire that a less exceptionable mode should be chosen by the parliament of Ireland; but if their choice should fix upon this in preference to any other, and that a bill for that purpose should be transmitted from Ireland, it would certainly be returned to them from the council in England."

This proposition, though not as from the Lord-lieutenant, but in the way of intelligence of what might be agitated in Ireland, came to the ministry from Colonel Blaquiere, Lord Harcourt's secretary<sup>11</sup>. It would be ridiculous to understand it as any thing else than a measure of administration, notwithstanding their pretended wishes of a more agreeable mode of supply. It originated from one branch of government, and has received a previous

<sup>11</sup> Lord Harcourt was at this time Lord-lieutenant of Ireland.



assurance of a final ratification from another branch. It is probable enough, that it will not be formally moved in parliament by any of the managers for the Castle. Some member, apparently in opposition, will propose it; and the court party after a faint struggle, in which they will rather wish and pray than debate, will suffer the point to be carried by the patriots. Your lordship judges with your usual penetration, that the ministers are desirous of throwing the odious part of standing against so popular a regulation upon those who are not well with them. That the gentlemen of that description have inwardly no good opinion of the tax, and no sort of inclination to its being imposed, is most certain. But they are too much disunited among themselves to risk an opposition to the designs of government, supported by the prejudices of the people. Mr. Ponsonby writes on the subject with great reserve. I am persuaded from his style, and from his situation, to which his style corresponds, that he will not think it advisable to take a forward part in opposing the tax: if he should not; indeed, whether he should or not, I believe the Duke of Leinster will let it pass, and perhaps even appear to forward it. He cultivates an interest in the corporation of Dublin, where a measure of this sort is just the most agreeable thing that could be imagined. Lord Shannon has had negotiations with the Castle. If

these negotiations should terminate to his liking, he will not set himself to resist the designs of his new friends. If not, he will take care to preserve the ground of popularity on which he stands. These are the most considerable interests. It is not impossible that Flood will be the mover of the tax. It will bring him over to administration with a good grace<sup>12</sup>. He will have one of the best horses of popularity in Lord Chatham's stables. He will have the merit of coming over to a government entirely in an Irish interest, and he will allege that, in making terms for himself, he has not neglected the interests of his country. He has been in London for a good while, and for some part of the time very privately. I imagine, at least, this was a part of his errand.

Your lordship has probably heard that administration has formally dissolved their newly-created board of excise. They had formed it in defiance of a vote of parliament, and dissolved it after parliament had acquiesced in it for a whole session. The whole revenue is again returned to the old board; but the patronage remains as before, entirely with the Castle. Nothing can tend to bring government into such great and merited contempt as the rashness with which they adopt critical

<sup>12</sup> Mr. Flood was appointed a privy-counsellor in Ireland in 1774, a vice-treasurer of Ireland in 1775, and an English privy-counsellor in 1776.

measures, and the cowardice and levity with which they abandon them. For the present, however, the giving up this board will answer some ends to Lord Harcourt, who will become a sort of favourite at the expense of every principle of ruling policy. They will make use of this concession to smooth their way to the absentee-tax. They will allege this as a proof that they had not recourse to extraordinary ways and means, until they had exhausted every method of economy, in the reduction of even the most favoured and justifiable expenses. I forgot to mention that Lord Besborough had from Rigby a confirmation (if any had been needful) of the reality of this project, with this particular, that the tax was to be two shillings in the pound.

Mr. Ponsonby conceives that their grand difficulty will be, not in the principle, but in the execution. The *manner* of levying, as well as assessing such a tax, cannot be very easy. But I never knew a difficulty in the execution of a business of this sort, which was not overcome, provided the managers were in good earnest for the measure itself; and a bad scheme is not the less executed, because it is done in an awkward bungling manner. He is of opinion, that if any thing can tend to the discredit of this plan, it is its leading to a *general* tax on land. This undoubtedly will be the strongest objection on the other

side of the water. But if they think that the growing state of the establishment, above all probable produce of the revenue, should show that such a tax must at length be inevitable, it will appear a point gained, if by a *partial* tax they may, for a while at least, stave off the evil from themselves, and protract it possibly beyond the lives of the present possessors of landed property.

In this light I confess it appears to me, on the slight knowledge which I possess, at present, of the dispositions of the public, and of the leading interests in Ireland. If government here persists in countenancing such a plan, I have no sort of doubt that it will pass the parliament and privy-council of Ireland, not only without difficulty, but with the greatest satisfaction and applause.

From the public in England, a very different reception might be expected. Your lordship thinks it a good ground for parliamentary impeachment. In itself I cannot see how it could escape the severest animadversion. There never surely was such a scheme of such preposterous policy; nor that tends more, in its principle and example, to the separation and derangement of the whole contexture of this empire, considered as a well-ordered, connected, and proportioned body. What shall we say? A respectable, but a subordinate part, gives laws to the whole; and Ireland makes a tax of regulation to prevent the residence of its pro-



prietors of land in the metropolis of the empire ! I never can forget that I am an Irishman : I flatter myself perhaps ; but I think I would shed my blood, rather than see the limb I belong to oppressed and defrauded of its due nourishment. But this measure tends to put us out of our place, and not to improve us in our natural situation. It is the mere effect of narrowness and passion ; and, if it should take effect, would bring on the natural consequence of these causes. Perhaps this country, by dispositions and actions of a similar nature, has taught this lesson to a scholar more docile than informed.

These are the sentiments which I entertain in common, I believe, with your lordship's friends. But I am not at all certain that it will affect people in the same manner, even in England. There is a superficial appearance of equity in this tax, which cannot fail to captivate almost all those who are not led by some immediate interest to an attentive examination of its intrinsic merits. The mischiefs which such a measure may produce, are remote and speculative. So they will appear to the people in general. They will not believe that this tax will drive a great many to a residence in Ireland. They think that this country may still enjoy the expenditure of the greater part of the Irish estates. While the part which is cut off by this tax is, in appearance, applied to the support of

military and other establishments, which, without the tax, might otherwise fall more directly upon England, they will think themselves indemnified for the loss of that ten per cent. which is taken from the great system of English circulation. As to the great maxims of policy which are subverted by the principle of this tax, I am much mistaken if the people of this country, who have a perfect contempt for all such things, will not consider them on this, as upon so many other things,—a mere visionary theory.

With regard to the great man<sup>1</sup>, the common friend of your lordship and Lord Besborough, I am sure he perfectly agrees with you both, in his opinion of the justice, reason, and policy of this imposition. But it is very possible that his opinion may have very little influence on his conduct. Your lordship remembers his opinion on the justice, policy, and equity of the proceedings against governor Wentworth. You remember too that he could not be prevailed upon to attend that cause, and to deliver that opinion in council. I remember with great clearness a report of the board of trade, so long ago as the year 1759, strongly recommending the disallowance of a money-bill of the province of Pennsylvania, as being made in direct opposition to

<sup>1</sup> Probably Lord Mansfield.

all the colony instructions, to the prerogative of the crown, and to the dependence of the province. By disallowing this bill, government would have lost, for some time, a loan of about 100,000 currency. When this report came to be heard before the council, your lordship's very learned friend approved exceedingly of the arguments of the attorney-general<sup>2</sup>, pressing the rejection of the bill. However, rather than government should be disappointed in this small supply, he allowed the bill with all its imperfections on its head. All he did was, in the face of the world, to attempt a negotiation with Mr. Franklin, agent for the colony, that another bill should be passed on the following year, but free from the exceptionable parts, to the same purpose. Franklin said, he had no authority to make such terms. He only promised to transmit his lordship's recommendation. The act passed, and nothing further was ever heard of the terms proposed.

From these, and from many other instances, I conclude that this able man is more anxious in general for the temporary accommodation, than the permanent credit of government. This is mere constitution<sup>3</sup>. If therefore the public credit in Ireland should be pledged by a loan upon an

<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden.

<sup>3</sup> That is, constitutional temperament.

absentee tax, or if the immediate pay of the army should be made to depend upon it, he is not the man to run the risk of so much embarrassment to government, as to advise the rejection of the act which imposed it. Never! never! He will indeed, very freely, in all his conversations, censure the ministry for suffering things to come to such extremities, but he will consider the measure as *necessary*; and then all questions of general expediency and policy of course must give way.

On the whole matter, it appears to me that, if administration perseveres, it will pass in Ireland; it will be tolerated in England; it will not be opposed in council by any great law-lord in this kingdom. Such I conceive must be the case, if it be suffered once, under government influence, to take root in the Irish House of Commons. But I confess that I join Lord Besborough in opinion of the necessity and probable success of an early, prudent, and vigorous opposition, before the Irish parliament gets into possession of the project. On a proper remonstrance, the ministry, who never foresee difficulties, will be more terrified about them than in reason they ought. Your lordship's great friend will then be both able and willing to interpose, and to interpose in the way to which he is best inclined, and in which he is most powerful, by a direct but private representation to the closet. Your lordship proposes to be at



the first October meeting at Newmarket. I submit it to your judgment, whether it might not be expedient to get on a little further, and to meet your friends here, and concert the best manner of making this representation. No time is to be lost. I suppose your lordship has seen Lord J. Cavendish and Sir G. Savile, since you heard of this project.

I have, since I began this letter, indeed this moment, received an apologetic message from Mr. Flood, for not having been to see me once since his being in England. I really thought it odd from so old and intimate an acquaintance. He is just gone off with Sir Charles Bingham. I hear his terms in reversion are considerable, and in possession very tolerable; this, in point of profit; and the lead and rank very great.

I become a little anxious in this matter. I wish, therefore, to hear from your lordship as soon as you please. The whole town talks of this affair, and is well apprised of every fact relative to it. I am, with the greatest attachment and affection,

My dear lord,

Ever your lordship's most obedient and obliged  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

I return home to-morrow. My harvest long since well in. The wheat was large in show upon the ground, but the yield in flour is not

extraordinary. I am infinitely obliged to Lady Rockingham for her goodness in transcribing the letter which I return. Until I can copy so well, I am not entitled to any apology.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Beaconsfield, Wednesday, October 20, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am glad to find Lord Ossory something of a man. If I do not mistake his constitution, he wanted nothing but good company at his outset, to make him very much what a man ought to be. There is a vein of natural good sense in him, from which a good deal might be expected; and such expectations were formed of him in the beginning of his life. Your lordship does not mention what measures were taken in consequence of the signing; whether you wait for more hands, or have presented on the strength of what you have; or whether you have fixed on your persons who are to deliver the letter <sup>4</sup>.

Francis <sup>5</sup> will be here, by appointment, to-day.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Burke here refers to the representation addressed to Lord North, deprecating a tax on Irish absentees, as mentioned in a preceding note.

<sup>5</sup> Afterwards Sir Philip Francis, K.B. This gentleman

I shall wait no longer than his return, which will be (to-morrow) Thursday morning, when I hope to receive your lordship's commands at Grosvenor-square. I find that this Mr. Francis is entirely in the interests of Lord Clive. Everything contributes to the greatness of that man, who, whether government or the company prevails, will go near to govern India. But he will govern it entirely, if the court triumphs; for being quite unfurnished, he is the upholsterer of their house to let.

I am glad Monckton has seen your lordship. Will. and Richard went to town yesterday, and I shall possibly hear somewhat this morning. I suppose our friend was at Newmarket. He has a much better game at London, but he is not his own master. I am, with the most affectionate attachment,

My dear lord,

Your lordship's faithful friend, and obedient  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

having held some less important employment at home, had been lately nominated by Lord North a member of the council appointed for the government of India, under the act of this year. He returned from India in 1784. Some correspondence which passed between him and Burke, on the subject of the French revolution, is given hereafter.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO EDMUND  
BURKE, ESQ.

Wentworth, January 30, 1774.

DEAR BURKE,

I trust I shall not be prevented setting out towards London on Wednesday morning. Lady Rockingham is most perfectly recovered, but, on the other hand, my own old complaints have lately again been very troublesome. The untoward events which happen rather affect me; and I do not feel either so active in mind, or so steady, under any disagreeable occurrences, as I formerly did. I am afraid the Duke of Richmond will be much disappointed at the event of the ballot<sup>6</sup>. I trust, nevertheless, that it is not a decisive defeat. I mean in regard to any judgment which can be formed, of what may be the issue at the next election of directors. Lord Fitzwilliam wrote me word, a few days ago, that Lord Buckinghamshire had given notice, that he should make a motion in the House of Lords. Lord Fitzwilliam says he met you, and that you heard it was relative

<sup>6</sup> Lord Rockingham here alludes to a ballot at the India-house on the 25th of January, 1774, when the proprietors of stock who represented the opinions of the Rockingham party on Indian affairs were left in a minority.



to the transactions in America, on the subject of the tea-ships, and that you imagined it might be to *goad* administration, and would undoubtedly be *contra* to us, &c.

If Lord Buckinghamshire makes any motion, I should imagine his first must be, to move for the accounts which government have received, as, otherwise, he has not sufficient ground. I suppose government will assent, and then the real business will come on in the course of next week.

I feel a strong desire of being in the House of Lords when this subject comes on. I have even wrote to Lord Fitzwilliam, by the same conveyance which carries this letter, and which I hope he will receive on Tuesday evening. A letter wrote by him or you, and sent either on Tuesday night by the Grantham fly, or an express sent on Wednesday morning to Grantham, may convey a letter to me, which I shall receive at Grantham on Wednesday night (if we reach Grantham), or I shall get it when we pass Grantham early on Thursday.

I trust I should be able to get to Grosvenor-square on Friday morning, early enough to dress for the House of Lords; I mean this only if it is thought very necessary that I should be there. The conduct of the Americans cannot be justified; but the folly and impolicy of the provocation

deserves the fullest arraignment; and notwithstanding all that has passed, I can never give my assent to proceeding with actual force against the colonies.

I am most exceedingly grieved for poor Trecothick. I thought him ill in health when I last saw him in London, and his spirits were much sunk; but the appearances of friendship and affection towards me were too warm for one to forget so soon.

I had a letter some time ago from Lord John Cavendish; he said the company at the Thatched House were cheerful.

I hope Mr. Dowdeswell is in good health. His spirits are not apt to flag. I see by the papers he tries to persuade the House of Commons to some little attention to the revenue matters; but the ministers not only neglect them, but have also the good fortune to find the public inattentive, in proportion to their own remissness and misconduct.

I am ever, dear Burke,  
Your most obedient and affectionate, &c.  
ROCKINGHAM.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Tuesday night, February 2, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have just received your lordship's letter. It is half an hour after ten; so that if I say much, I shall, I fear, be too late for the fly. I rejoice most heartily at your coming to town, and at Lady Rockingham's happy recovery. I wish your lordship had brought your share of health with you; but I flatter myself that the journey and the change will rather do you service. I wish your lordship would not take things too anxiously. If the Duke of Richmond were to succeed in the India-house, it would be a matter of great triumph. But if he has failed, or even if he should fail finally, we ought not to be surprised at it; as the whole power of government has been employed to gain that body, which the whole power of parliament has been employed to new-model for that purpose. But I really do not think it absolutely impossible that they may yet be able to save something from the talons of despotism. Your lordship will find all your friends, though not active, yet all at their posts; in good humour with one another; in no bad spirits; firmly at-

tached to their principles and to your lordship. As to others, I hope they begin to know to whom it is they owe their present situation. I mean all such (few indeed) as *choose* not to play the same part of division and subdivision themselves.

As to Lord Buckinghamshire<sup>7</sup>, I always thought America was his object, and that he would begin with a motion for papers. Whether he got them, or what was said on the part of administration, I know not. It was the Duke of Richmond's, Mr. Dowdeswell's, and Lord Fitzwilliam's, as well as Lord J. Cavendish's sentiment, that your lordship's friends in the House of Peers ought to absent themselves, and not to countenance the interested petulance of those paltry, discontented people, who, without embracing your principles, or giving you any sort of support, think to make use of your weight to give consequence to every occasional spirit of opposition they think proper to make, in order to put the ministry in mind that they are to be bought by private contract, as unconnected individuals. When you mean opposition, you are able to take it up on your own grounds, and at your own time. I cannot think they can bring on any question this week.

Your lordship remarks very rightly on the

<sup>7</sup> The Earl of Buckinghamshire was appointed Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in November, 1776.



supineness of the public. Any remarkable highway robbery at Hounslow-heath would make more conversation than all the disturbances of America.

There were five-and-thirty at council on the petition to remove Governor Hutchinson<sup>8</sup>. Dunning<sup>9</sup>, counsel for the province, denied that there was any cause instituted. That the petition charged no crime, and made no accusation. It applied to the wisdom of the crown, and did not make a demand for justice. It was with the king to grant or to refuse. They had no impeachment to make, and no evidence to produce. It was well and ably put. Lee seconded ;—Wedderburn

<sup>8</sup> This was a petition from the province of Massachusetts, presented by the agent, Dr. Franklin, the preceding year, praying for the removal of the governor, in consequence of the discovery of some letters of his to the British government, recommending the adoption of coercive measures towards the colony. No notice appears to have been taken of the petition, until the beginning of this year, when it was referred to the privy-council, and Dr. Franklin ordered to attend on the 29th of January. The result was the dismissal of the petition, and the immediate removal of Dr. Franklin (who had been instrumental in the discovery of the letters) from his employment of deputy-postmaster to the Colonies. This removal seems to have been the object government had in view, in bringing forward the petition after it had lain by so long.

<sup>9</sup> The celebrated lawyer, and member of the House of Commons, created Lord Ashburton in 1782. He died in 1783.

replied in a very well-performed invective against the assembly, and all the town meetings of New England; justifying the governor, and laying on most heavily, indeed beyond all bounds and measure, on Dr. Franklin. I am told the Doctor is to be dismissed from whatever employments he holds under the crown. There is nothing else stirring.

I am, with the utmost affection and attachment,

My dear lord,

Your lordship's most obedient and  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

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MADAME DU DEFFAND TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Paris, ce 5 Avril, 1774.

Mad. du Deffand a été charmée de voir le fils de Monsieur Burke; on l'a trouvé très joly,—parlant le François aussi bien que sa propre langue; Monsieur son père fera fort bien de prendre des leçons de lui et de venir cet automne à Paris faire juger à Mad. du Deffand s'il a profité des instructions de Monsieur son fils. Elle envoie à Monsieur Burke un discours qui a remporté le prix l'an passé à l'Académie Française; elle le prie de lui faire sçavoir avec sincérité le jugement

qu'il en aura porté. Mad. Cholmondeley voudra peut-être bien se charger de la lui mander. Seroit-ce d'elle que viendroient deux livres de thé, qui lui ont été envoyé de la part d'un Monsieur P. à Benezech ? Elle voudroit le sçavoir pour lui en faire ses remerciemens.

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LETTER OF THANKS TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.,  
FROM MANCHESTER.

Hope, near Manchester, April 29, 1774.

SIR,

By desire of the Committee of Trade at Manchester, I return you their grateful acknowledgments, for the very active part they are informed you have taken in the business of the Jamaica free ports.

With admiration and respect, we behold you, sir, happy in the possession of the most distinguished abilities; happier still in the most patriotic application of them in the service of your country.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

THOS. B. BAYLEY.

LETTER OF THANKS TO EDMUND BURKE ESQ.,  
FROM THE AFRICAN COMPANY.

African Office, May 20, 1774.

SIR,

The committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa, thoroughly sensible of the great obligations that company lies under to you, for the very zealous, constitutional, and effectual support you lately gave their establishment in parliament, have directed me to return you their sincere and hearty thanks; and likewise gratefully to acknowledge their sense of the generous and kind defence you were pleased to afford the committee against an illiberal and unjust attack, made on their characters in the House, at the same time.

I have the honour to be, with all possible  
deference and respect, sir,

your very obedient humble servant,

RICHARD CAMPLIN.



EDMUND BURKE, ESQ. TO THE BISHOP OF  
CHESTER.

Westminster, June 20, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

You will be much surprised to find a letter upon such a subject as that of the inclosed coming through my hands<sup>10</sup>. But though you will laugh at the oddity of the circumstance, I flatter myself your lordship will have the goodness not to be displeased with my sending it to you without any delay, and with so little ceremony.

If I could claim the honour of any intimacy

<sup>10</sup> The letter alluded to is one from Dr. Leland, of Trinity College, Dublin, requesting the support of the Bishop of Chester in his suit for the appointment of provost of the college, then vacant by the death of Dr. Andrews. He was opposed by Mr. John Hely Hutchinson, the prime serjeant, upon whom, it was understood, the Irish government intended to bestow it. Mr. Hutchinson was a practising lawyer, and then, and afterwards, an active politician, whose appointment to so grave and important a charge was considered by the public to be, in every respect, unsuitable and improper. He was, however, supported by Colonel Blaquiere, secretary to Lord Harcourt, then lord lieutenant, and was successful. In 1777, he became secretary for Ireland under Lord Buckinghamshire, an office he held for a short time, in conjunction with that of provost; the latter was only vacated by his death in 1795.

with administration, I should certainly be very far from the presumption of interfering in affairs like these, for their magnitude so far beyond my reach, and the qualifications for which are so much above my powers of judging. However, after some consideration, I resolved to send your lordship the letter just as I received it. I was really afraid lest my friend might, by some possibility, trust for a post or two to this very ill-advised mode of conveyance; and that my just sense of its impropriety might prevent the knowledge of his being a candidate for the vacant office, from coming to proper persons at a proper time. On the whole, I risked doing an indelicate thing, rather than he should suffer from having done an imprudent act; and lest a very learned, and, in all other respects, a very well-informed man, should be a loser from his being so ill-acquainted with the proper channels of application.

His excuse for this method will, I suppose, be his great distance from affairs, which makes him ignorant of the true situation of men, his partiality to me, which persuades him that I have some power to serve him, because he knows I have great wishes to do so; and that he presumes I have some credit with your lordship, from the sentiments of esteem and veneration he knows I have ever entertained for you.

I must once more beg to be pardoned for this strange liberty, and to hope that it will not hurt my old friend. You will imagine that I have not the folly to interfere, in the smallest degree, in a business of so much importance, and in all respects so foreign to me. Nothing, but my fear of Dr. Leland's being a loser by my scruples, could induce me even to send his letter. Mrs. Burke, William, and this family, present their most respectful and affectionate compliments to Mrs. Markham, and our love to the children. I am, with the most real esteem and regard, ever,

My dear lord,  
Your lordship's most obedient and  
obliged humble servant,  
EDM. BURKE.

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REV. DR. LELAND TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

June 26, 1774.

MY DEAR SIR,

A thousand, and a thousand thanks. You may rely on the utmost reserve on my part, and I speak with perfect confidence to you, when I tell you that every grave and sensible man in this country is perfectly outrageous at the scheme of committing an absolute robbery on the college.

Good God ! what have we done ? Is it so great offence that we have endeavoured to discharge our duties with reputation ? Or who is Colonel Blaquiere, that is to draw the emoluments intended for us into his own pocket ? I must again repeat it, that there is not a grave or virtuous man here that is not provoked ; and I must do myself the justice to add, that the general voice is in my favour. Our attorney-general<sup>11</sup> is now in London, my zealous friend, even to a degree of *acharnement*. He will confer with Mr. Rigby, and he, I have the greatest expectations, will serve me if there be an opening. I wrote to Lord Townshend long since ; I am confident he will co-operate with any one who will assist the person destined to this office in his administration<sup>12</sup>. The Bishop of Oxford<sup>1</sup> (if alive) will give me a good word ; so will your lord chancellor. I have the liveliest sense of yours and William's friendship, and am overpowered by the goodness of the Bishop of Chester. I know that he understands the business of a college. Is the learning of such a society to be promoted, or the discipline to be restored, by

<sup>11</sup> Philip Tisdale, Esq.

<sup>12</sup> Lord Townshend had agreed some short time before he quitted the vice-royalty, to make Dr. Leland provost upon the then expected death of Dr. Andrews.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Lowth.



a minister, a member of parliament, and a practising lawyer?

Let me entreat you, whether you know Tisdale or not, to call on him. You will flatter him. He is to be found by inquiring at Mr. Prince's, in Sackville-street. He is my best and ablest agent from this side, for he wishes Hutchinson may not, and he wishes I may, succeed. God bless you. You possibly may have another letter from me by next post. Ridge is at my elbow, but has nothing to say.

Most affectionately, &c. &c.

THOS. LELAND.

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REV. DR. LELAND TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

June 27, 1774.

MY DEAR SIR,

Shall I begin by making an apology for the enormous plague I am giving you? The occasion is of such magnitude as obliges me to be troublesome: and my situation is such as calls me out to make every effort in my power, even in a hopeless cause, when that cause is favoured by the whole body of good and wise men here. Let me explain the situation of things here a little more fully than I could do in my hasty letter of last night.

When in the late Irish administration, Dr. Andrews thought himself dying, sensible how

much the university had suffered by the government of a person situated as he was<sup>2</sup>, he earnestly recommended to Lord Townshend to use all his efforts to make me his successor. Lord Townshend promised, and by the way, he promised more; for on Andrews's apparent recovery, he declared that if any opportunity offered during the later period of his government, I should be a bishop. Judge then, whether I have not reason to expect his good offices now. Another governor arrives here, who, alas! knows not Joseph. Andrews grows ill again. A bargain is proposed to the prime sergeant, (an able and worthy gentleman, but a total stranger to the university and its government,) that if he will resign to Colonel Blaquiere his reversionary grant of the secretaryship of state, with some other matters, I know not what, and also make room for one or two lawyers by giving up his place of prime sergeant, he shall be indemnified at the expense of the university, and made its nominal governor, a species of traffic hitherto unknown in the annals of this country. From the Restoration, Dr. Andrews was the single instance of a layman appointed to the office of provost; and this proved an unfortunate appointment, although he was a senior fellow. Nor from the settlement of Ireland at the Revolution, to this day, has any one provost been chosen but from the senior

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Andrews was a layman, to which he probably alludes.

fellows. Our primate, our chancellor, all our bishops, every man of gravity, and every father in Ireland, are astonished and confounded; but none of these are consulted. The primate remonstrated with his excellency, but to no purpose; although to give his representations greater weight, he avoids recommending any particular person, but confines himself to the description of the kind of man that should be chosen; a description which agrees to very few, and which I flattered myself, when I heard it from his grace, applied to me, even to a degree of minuteness. As his representations were ineffectual here, I trust in God, and believe he has laid the whole affair before some proper persons on your side of the water. I have no particular claim on that excellent person you mention. But he is naturally the patron of a college; he knows how and by whom a college is to be governed. And as to his favourable opinion of me, all I can say is, it must be the business of my life to prove myself not unworthy of it.

I do not find that, in the hurry of their private bargain, any attention has been paid to our chancellor; and I am informed that his majesty will not be exceedingly flattered by an unprecedented neglect of his royal highness<sup>3</sup>. I have made my

<sup>3</sup> His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester was at this time chancellor of Trinity College, Dublin.

formal application to him in terms of duty and humility, and I flatter myself my letter has been conveyed through a proper channel. I have had no answer to my application to Mr. Rigby. My friend the attorney-general will endeavour to see him, and prevail on him to do me some service; but with what success I know not, and I am afraid to conjecture. Lord Townshend I understand is at Rainham; he ought to serve me, but he can do me but little service at that distance. In short, instead of divulging anything that you communicate to any one here, I speak of my pretensions and cause as totally desperate; and so, indeed, I think them; though it would be cowardice not to make every little effort in my power, and rather die in the last dyke, than fly before this barbarous invasion. My last hope, and that of the college, rest on the goodness, the public spirit, and the virtuous indignation of the truly worthy patron you have gained us. Allow me, my dearest sir, to repeat my request, that you would be so obliging as to see Mr. Tisdale, and remind him that Mr. Macnamara could be of use, if gained. I have not room for the thousand acknowledgments I owe to Mr. W. Burke. I pray God to bless you all, and shall never forget your goodness to

Your truly affectionate humble servant,

THOS. LELAND.



REV. DR. WILSON TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Hotwells, Bristol, June 28, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

In the course of three months' residence at this place, for the benefit of my health, I have had frequent opportunities of conversing with a few friends at Bristol, merchants of fortune and character, and warm well-wishers to the liberties and constitution of this *once* free nation. I frequently took an opportunity of talking about the next general election, and the necessity there was of having members of ability and integrity to represent the second city in the kingdom; and I found a proper juncture to mention your name, as having so ably stood forth in opposition to many odious measures carried on, especially the affairs of America, in the event of which they are so nearly interested. And I am desired by two or three, who will keep the secret, to write to you immediately, under the seal of secrecy and in great confidence, to know whether, if they find themselves strong enough, you will be ready to serve them, if they put you up as a candidate to represent them. Those gentlemen, I apprehend, will

furnish you with a proper colleague of their own town, who certainly has a very great influence and a large family connexion, and a man of spirit and understanding in commercial affairs, and is expected every day to arrive from New York, where he has been to settle a large and outstanding debt, which he has happily succeeded in. The Quebec affair has given an amazing turn within these three weeks to the tame dispositions of the Quakers and Dissenters, who before that time were fast asleep ; but this has roused them, which makes it a more favourable juncture to carry our point than it ever was before.

When you have seriously considered this important affair, you will please to communicate your sentiments to me, in a letter, to be communicated only to the two or three friends who are in the secret, and it shall be kept private ; and, I dare say, you will depend upon my secrecy, and honour, and zeal, in this affair.

I go from this place to-morrow to Bath, where I shall only stay long enough to receive a letter from you ; and then, if it meets with your approbation, I shall step over with it to Bristol, and meet with the friends I have hinted to you, and the result of which you shall immediately know.

I need not, I hope, tell you what a pleasure I shall have, in being instrumental in serving my

poor distressed country, and a person, at the same time, who stands foremost in the rank of un-biassed patriots.

I am, dear sir,

Your faithful friend and humble servant,

THOS. WILSON <sup>4</sup>.

P.S. Direct,

To the Rev. Dr. Thos. Wilson, at Bath.

<sup>4</sup> Burke's answer is not forthcoming, nor any other correspondence on the subject than what is here given. The facts of the case are these. On the dissolution of parliament in 1774, circumstances connected with Lord Verney's re-election for Buckinghamshire, and not any misunderstanding with that nobleman, as has been said, rendered it inexpedient that Burke should offer himself again for Wendover. It was, therefore, arranged that he should seek a seat at Malton, a borough under the influence of the Marquis of Rockingham. He was accordingly elected for that place; but on the day of his return, some gentlemen, deputed by the citizens of Bristol to inform him that he had been put in nomination for that city, arrived at Malton. Burke, with the permission of his new constituents, proceeded at once with the deputation to Bristol, appeared on the hustings on the 13th of October, and, after a protracted poll, was returned on the 3rd of November, and sat for Bristol.

REV. DR. WILSON TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Bath, July 11, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I went on purpose to Bristol, to communicate your last obliging favour to two or three friends in confidence, and they are very sensible of the difficulties you mention, and yet they do not despair of succeeding. If any thing in the interim should happen to Lord C.<sup>5</sup>, they might carry two; they seem to be sure of one in the room of B.<sup>6</sup>, whom they do not like for some sins of commission, and many of omission, in not attending his duty in some late affairs regarding America.

Mr. Cruger (just arrived from New York, and brought over some papers and letters for you) is intended for a candidate at the ensuing election, and supported by the gentlemen who desired me to write to you; and I make no question of his carrying it. He called upon me last night in his way to London, and I have desired him to wait upon you, and you may confide in his secrecy, honour, and integrity; and has a regard for you, as a true friend of liberty, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Viscount Clare, afterwards Earl Nugent.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Brickdale.



I hope you will believe me, that nothing would give me more pleasure than to see you in any station, where your influence and abilities may be more extensively useful at this critical juncture. I told Mr. Cruger that I would write to you this post, that you may trust in him as a person that may be perfectly confided in, and very knowing in American affairs, as he has resided so long at New York. The particular regard you are pleased to express for me is very flattering.

I am, dear sir,

Your faithful and obliged friend and servant,

T. WILSON.

P.S. Your letter will never go out of my hands, nor be communicated to any but the few friends mentioned.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Beaconsfield, September 16, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

I received this morning your lordship's very kind letter of the 13th. I should certainly have<sup>7</sup> prevented you by one of mine, if any thing pleasant, interesting, or curious, had justified me in giving you that trouble, among so many occupations in

<sup>7</sup> That is,—anticipated.

which I could not assist, and so many anxieties which I could not relieve. I felt for your lordship's situation whilst Sir G. Savile's idea of retirement continued. I was aware of his intention before he left home. Undoubtedly his putting it in execution would have broken up every thing; and coming along with Dowdeswell's unfortunate illness, would have left no hope of re-establishing your lordship's political affairs, or those of the public, which are so intimately connected with them. As to Mr. Dowdeswell, I am really not very sanguine in my expectation of his recovery. It seems that a change of climate is his only chance. When that is the case, and the disorder an obstinate cough, I think the chance a very poor one. He has broken a blood-vessel already; and the sea, which he must cross of necessity, endangers a repetition of the same misfortune, in case he should be ill in his stomach, and obliged to strain the organs of his throat and palate. It seems it was with great reluctance that he submitted to the thoughts of this voyage. However, I understand from a letter which I had from Sir William Codrington yesterday, that he has at length agreed to it. Possibly, if the cough be only symptomatic, and the effect of a latent distemper of another kind, the great change made by the sea air, motion, and way of life, may work a cure, especially upon him, who never yet has been on that

element. I most ardently wish it may. His loss would be irreparable, not only in business, of which he was the life and soul, but in society, as one of the worthiest, steadiest, and best-tempered men that ever lived.

You see by the papers that the Duke of Northumberland is likely to have some trouble in Westminster, if he puts up Lord Thomas Clinton ; whether the popular party propose me or not<sup>8</sup>. Lord Mahon has entered the lists. By the illiberal tone of his advertisement, it is easy to perceive from what school he issues. It is surprising how little that set of people manage the personal honour and credit of their connexions. I do not find that he has the least encouragement from the leaders of the independent interest in Westminster. On my part, I am not excessively sanguine about that election ; but it would not be right to lose any matter that may be in it, by any neglects of

<sup>8</sup> It seems that Mr. Churchill, and other friends of Mr. Burke, had suggested to him the probability of his being returned for Westminster, and that Wilkes, who was then at the height of his popularity, had promised him the popular support. The sequel is sufficiently described in this letter ; but the attempt, as far as it went, procured Burke many very flattering testimonials of regard from persons of the highest station and character. The candidates for Westminster, who went to a poll on this occasion, were Lords Mountmorris and Mahon, Mr. Humphrey Coates, Lord Percy, and Lord Thomas Pelham Clinton. The two last were returned.

my own. I propose, therefore, to be in town on Tuesday, and to talk over the business with those who are active in it, and first suggested it to me. I am fortunate in one respect, that the Duke of Portland is in town. I shall communicate with him as I go on. I have scarcely been from home an hour since I saw your lordship; except at the assizes of Buckingham, where I was obliged to go on a troublesome matter of litigation, which is now over; and at the races of Aylesbury, where I did not go, you may be assured, for the sport. It was thought that the pulse of the county would be felt there. There certainly Lord Temple was; but I do not think he found the appearance of things very encouraging. It was thought singular, that, if he was resolved his nephew should stand, he took no care to exhibit him to the county, either at the assizes or the races. He was, however, carrying on in every quarter a private canvass for him; and he still talks of starting him, but has taken no steps, that I can learn, to call any meeting. I thought at the races that he would have dropped it. Aubrey has abandoned his scheme. His inconsiderate attempt, without doing the least good to himself, has done Lord Verney this mischief,—that it seemed to open the ground and to habituate the county to the idea of a contest. I thought Lowndes and the tories seemed to give Lord Temple no sort of encourage-



ment. What may come of it, I know not. I am convinced that Lord Temple's chief hope and principal encouragement is from the Duke of Grafton, and the government interest.

I agree with your lordship entirely; the American and foreign affairs will not come to any crisis, sufficient to rouse the public from its present stupefaction, during the course of the next session. I have my doubts whether those at least of America, will do it for some years to come. I don't know whether the London papers have taken in the Pennsylvania instructions to their representatives. Lest they should not, I send your lordship the Philadelphia paper which contains them. It is evident from the spirit of these instructions, as well as by the measure of a congress, and consequent embassy, that the affair will draw out into great length. If it does, I look upon it as next to impossible, that the present temper and unanimity of America can be kept up; popular remedies must be quick and sharp, or they are very ineffectual. The people there can only work on ministry through the people here, and the people here will be little affected by the sight of half-a-dozen gentlemen from America, dangling at the levees of Lord Dartmouth and Lord North, or negotiating with Mr. Pownall. If they had chosen the non-importation measure as the leading card, they would

have put themselves on a par with us; and we should be in as much haste to negotiate ourselves out of our commercial, as they out of their constitutional difficulties. But in the present temper of the nation, and with the character of the present administration, the disorder and discontent of all America, and the more remote future mischiefs which may arise from those causes, operate as little as the division of Poland. The insensibility of the merchants of London is of a degree and kind scarcely to be conceived. Even those who are most likely to be overwhelmed by any real American confusion are amongst the most supine. The character of the ministry either produces, or perfectly coincides with, the disposition of the public. The security of the latter<sup>9</sup> does, I know, arise from an opinion of the volatile and transient nature of popular discontents; and they have the recent and comfortable experience, that those discontents which prevailed at home, and prevailed with no small violence, had evaporated of themselves without any exertion whatsoever on the part of government. I confess, I should not, in their situation, and with such great national objects at stake, repose myself with great tranquillity either on this speculation or this experience. But they have no opinion of the vindictive justice of the nation. The worst

<sup>9</sup> That is,—the ministry.

that can happen is the loss of employment, and that evil is to be postponed to the last hour. In the mean time they have three great securities: the actual possession of power, chapter of accidents, and the Earl of Chatham. This last is the *sacra anchora*. Foreign politics do not embarrass them. The northern powers are too remote, and France is certainly disposed to be pacific. Choiseul is not yet, ostensibly at least, in power, and some doubt whether he ever will. Things there are in the utmost confusion.

I did not stop in the above, although I am come to town in the middle of a sentence. On my arrival I found that Lord Mahon valued himself much on the support of Wilkes. The Duke of Newcastle, too, paid a visit to the Duke of Portland, and told his grace that he had refused the Duke of Northumberland's solicitation to put up Lord Thomas Clinton, and that he looked on my Lord Mahon a very proper person to be supported. Lord Mahon is to be married to Lord Chatham's daughter; and the Duke of Portland thought he could plainly perceive, by the style of the conversation, that this worthy friend of Lord Chatham thinks the ministerial tenement rather tottering, and that he wishes to house again under his old roof. On this information, I thought it right to send Dr. Morris, to discover how far Mr. Wilkes continued firm to his engagements. It

was not prudent to see him myself, until I should be previously apprised of his sentiments and dispositions. But my friend found the great patriot's memory as treacherous as every thing else about him. For a long time he seemed totally to forget all that had passed. When he did recollect the transaction, the first idea of which had originated from himself, he then said he had heard that Mr. Burke had given it up, and that he would not be supported by his friends if he persevered; for that Lord Mountmorris had told him that he (Lord M.) was to have the Portland and Devonshire interest. He observed that Lord Mahon was a very proper candidate; he had promised just what they required of their candidates; that he was to be married to Lord Chatham's daughter, and a Spanish nobleman had left him fifty thousand pounds. This last circumstance seemed to have much weight with him. He confessed that Lord Mahon had been with him seven or eight times. In short, it appeared to my friend as clearly almost as if he had been eye-witness of the whole transaction that he had touched Lord Mahon's money, and that he is desirous of extorting more, by stirring up a multitude of candidates. Although he said in my presence, that it would be an act of insanity to attempt shaking Lord Percy, his note was quite changed; he did not know why they should not try for both members.



Let Mr. Burke advertise ; though after the excellent advertisement of Lord Mahon's any other must appear *meagre*. This was his expression. In short, that affair is over. I don't know why I trouble your lordship with so many particulars of so paltry a business. I should have troubled myself very little with it, if it had not appeared to me a sort of act of duty, to endeavour all I could to settle my own parliamentary arrangements, if possible, without burthen to any friend.

The state of Lord Verney's affairs, both parliamentary and private, make it necessary for me, either to quit public life, or find some other avenue to parliament than his interest. His private circumstances are very indifferent. He has been disappointed in one or two expectations of considerable relief, which he has lately had reason to entertain ; and I am far from the least disposition, indeed I am infinitely far from having any sort of reason, to complain of the step which he is going to take. He will, indeed he must, have those to stand for Wendover (now his only borough of three in which he had formerly an interest) who can bear the charge which that borough is to him. The first people in character in this kingdom, unpressed in their affairs, do it ; and even expect some acknowledgment of obligation for the preference. We have reason to lament the necessity which drives him to abandon the distinguished course of

disinterestedness and friendship that has hitherto actuated him, and to take the common road. There are very few who have brought men into parliament without expense, and that too repeatedly, who were not any way of their kindred, or capable of serving their interest in their counties. Lord Verney has brought three private friends into his borough, for two parliaments, without a shilling of advantage to himself, or the least hope of any aid from them in the support of his county election. Mr. Bullock<sup>10</sup> is indeed accidentally of some use; we are of none at all. So that we have infinite reason to be grateful for the voluntary acts of friendship which are passed; none at all to murmur at the effects of the present urgent necessity. I hope we shall be thus grateful for the little time we have to live, and the little means we shall probably ever have of showing our feeling of the friendship we have experienced.

Broad Sanctuary, September 25, 1774.

Since I came to town I have found this necessity still more urgent. Plumer<sup>11</sup> tells me that young Grenville<sup>1</sup> has declared himself at Newport

<sup>10</sup> Joseph Bullock, Esq., Mr. Burke's colleague in the representation of Wendover.

<sup>11</sup> William Plumer, Esq., representative of the county of Hertford, from 1768 to 1807.

<sup>1</sup> The eldest son of Mr. George Grenville, then deceased, afterwards Lord Temple and first Marquis of Buckingham.

ances, and was canvassing all that part of the county with an appearance of success. Lord Verney has not taken a single step; and he is of that inert and undecided temper, that I fear he will not prevail on himself to pursue his point with vigour, or to relinquish it by an early and prudent retreat. If the tories do not join us in order to cover Lowndes from his share of the expense, I do not think we have any chance. The Duke of Grafton, I am told, and I have no doubt of it, exerts himself with great vigour, and carries with him the whole interest of government; my only hope, therefore, lies in the tories. With that view I have endeavoured to get Sir Anthony Abdy to write to Mr. Drake, who is his relation, and very considerable among that party. He has done it as I could wish; he has wrote to Mr. Drake. The Duke of Portland has wrote to Mr. Hewet, if possible to secure the Stanhope interest. If your lordship would write to Lord Abingdon to serve us by his friends, it would be materially useful. The quarter sessions will be at Aylesbury on the sixth of next month. There we shall meet the adversary, and be able to discover the disposition of the county. If Lord Verney loses the county, he must keep one of the Wendover seats for himself.

In this situation, as Lord Verney entertains exactly his old principles and regards, we ought to

wish to get some of our monied friends for his seats, by which your lordship's force in parliament will not be so much impaired as otherwise it might be. Gregory is not sure of Maidstone; if he gets it, it will probably be through a greater expense, and much more trouble, than he could come in for at Wendover. I only wait to see Lord Verney, in order to speak to Gregory upon the subject. By the way, he has expressed some jealousy, as if he wished your lordship to bestir yourself a little more with Lord Aylesford.

I stay in town in expectation of seeing Mr. Churchill. As it was through him I had the offer of the independent interest, I shall surrender my pretensions into his hands. I must see my way much more clearly before me, before I take any other step in that business. It has so little in it, that, as I told your lordship, I should not have thought of it, if my old ground had not failed me. In this difficulty, which is superadded to others, sometimes when I am alone, in spite of all my efforts, I fall into a melancholy which is inexpressible, and to which, if I gave way, I should not continue long under it, but must totally sink; yet I do assure you that partly, and indeed principally, by the force of natural good spirits, and partly by a strong sense of what I ought to do, I bear up so well, that no one who did not know them, could easily discover the state of my mind



or my circumstances. I have those that are dear to me, for whom I must live as long as God pleases, and in what way he pleases. Whether I ought not totally to abandon this public station, for which I am so unfit, and have of course been so unfortunate, I know not. It is certainly not so easy to arrange me in it, as it has been hitherto. Most assuredly I never will put my feet within the doors of St. Stephen's chapel, without being as much my own master as hitherto I have been, and at liberty to pursue the same course. At any rate, I am not half so much concerned about my own seat as about that of my friend Burke<sup>2</sup>, to whom I primarily owe my being a member of parliament, and who has for me sacrificed every thing, and by his encouragement and example always made me act with proper resolution, if ever I have so acted. To him a seat is more essential; and I could never, without grief and shame, see myself within the walls of that House, if he who first brought me within them was to wait for me in the lobby. But I am to blame to trouble your lordship so long with an unpleasant matter of little consequence, and the rather, because I have only to relieve you from it by another unpleasant

<sup>2</sup> Mr. William Burke, who has been mentioned in a preceding note, and through whose introduction to Lord Verney Mr. Burke obtained his return for Wendover, in 1766, and subsequently at the general election in 1768.

matter, of far greater magnitude. I send your lordship inclosed, poor Dowdeswell's letter to me. You see by it that his condition is far from good. He says not a word of going abroad. Surely your lordship ought to write to him, to urge him to it by every consideration.

Your lordship will be so good as to present mine, Mrs. Burke's, and all our very dutiful respects to Lady Rockingham. I have seen Lord Frederick Cavendish, who gives me a good account of your lordship's health from what he has seen, and of Lady Rockingham's from what he has heard. I cannot express to you how kindly and actively the Duke of Portland has exerted himself in this Buckinghamshire business, and I rejoice from my heart that he is left at leisure to do so by his compromise in the north, which was every way so wise and so honourable to him. I am, with the sincerest and most affectionate attachment,

My dear lord,

Your lordship's most obliged and obedient  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

I need not mention to your lordship the propriety of keeping Lord V.'s intentions, with regard to the borough, secret, further than it is necessary to avail ourselves of that knowledge. It just this

instant occurs to me, that it is possible your lordship may not be acquainted with the particulars and the manner of Lord Camden's letter to Lord Besborough. It really appears to me, as if he did, in the most direct terms, offer himself to your lordship. He did so before, or very near the matter, to the Duke of Richmond. My opinion of some part of his character does not, perhaps, essentially differ from that of your lordship. But that sort of man is absolutely necessary to your lordship, whether you are, or are not, in power. We have not the making of men, but must take them as we find them. I do not think, nay, I am persuaded he would not, systematically betray you. I fancy he is sick of his old connexions, and desperate with the court. On the whole, I know no man of his coat who would fall in so well with you. I mean of the lawyers of the same rank ; or that may support your measures with so little violence to his disposition, or so little contradiction to his former proceedings. I don't think there are above one or two points in which he is entangled, and in those not very deeply. Your lordship will certainly think that Lord B. should have powers to answer Lord C.'s letter pretty speedily, and in an encouraging style.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Goodwood, September 26, 1774.

MY DEAR BURKE,

I am just going to our mayor-choosing, and afterwards to Lewes for our county-meeting, which is to be to-morrow; so that I have not much time to explain very fully to you my reasons for hoping you will excuse my not interfering in the Buckinghamshire election.

Although I have no political connexion, I have some remains of old family acquaintance with Lord Temple, and should not choose to offend him so much as I myself should feel at any other person for an endeavour to oppose a family interest. There are few things I would not do to oblige you; but I confess that, not knowing Lord Verney, and having no other reason to wish him better than Lord Temple, except for his friendship for you, I do not think it would be right for me to interfere, where I have so literally nothing to say. At the same time, I do not at all wonder at your endeavouring to do all you can for your friends. Besides these reasons, which make me not wish to interfere, I am persuaded you have to the full as much weight with Lord Abingdon as I have, and a letter from you would do as well as one from me.



Indeed, the more I live, the more I grow to think, that few things are worth making one's self enemies for. After all, we can do no good; and why should we toil and labour so much in vain? I grow very sick of politics, but not one jot less affectionate to my friends; it is impossible to love or esteem you more than I do; so pray don't look upon this letter as any want of friendship for you.

Adieu! I am ever yours most sincerely,

RICHMOND, &c.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

September, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am this moment honoured with your grace's letter of the 26th instant. With your usual indulgence and condescension to my weakness, you are so good as not to blame me for an application in favour of my friend. I must confess that, where I have had such an object in view, I have not usually made any scruple to violate, in some degree, the strict letter and *summum jus* of decorum and propriety. By this conduct, I am conscious that I have made some enemies; but I have the satisfaction of feeling, at the same time, that

enemies so made are almost the only ones I have in the world. It would undoubtedly be great folly to expect, and great presumption to recommend to others, a conduct which is not, perhaps, exactly justifiable to prudence in myself. But in the present case, I really think, on all accounts, my enemies may be excused. Indeed, I am so anxious to stand well with your grace, that you will permit me, though you do not require it, to lay before you the reasons why I did not at first perceive the impropriety of my application to your grace upon this occasion. I was utterly ignorant, I assure you, that your grace had lived in any habits of intimacy with Lord Temple, or that you were related to him in any near degree of consanguinity. With regard to affecting his family interest, I was equally ignorant that he had a family interest in the county of Buckingham, which none of his name has ever yet represented, and where, indeed, the Grenvilles are comparatively strangers<sup>3</sup>. Lord Verney is now member for the county, and so far in possession. His family have, for many

<sup>3</sup> This is a mistake, as the antiquity of the Grenvilles in Buckinghamshire is very great indeed. Their title-deeds are among the most ancient in the kingdom. Burke's error probably arose from the circumstance of the Grenvilles having recently inherited Stowe from the Temple family, and having transferred their principal residence thither from Wotton, the ancient paternal inheritance of their own family.

centuries, had an ample property, and no small consideration in it; and this consideration has, on Lord Verney's part, been very well merited, as I believe no man in England, without the exception of another, has been so indulgent, humane, and moderate a landlord, on an estate of considerable extent, or a greater protector to all the poor within his reach. So that, I apprehend, it is Lord Verney's personal and family interest which are attacked by Lord Temple, and not Lord Temple's that is attacked by Lord Verney. As they are near neighbours, hitherto they have lived in great appearance of mutual friendship; and I am persuaded that if Lord Verney had attached himself to the same party with Lord Temple, to which he did not altogether want invitation, he would now have neither the least uncertainty, nor a shilling expense, in his election.

With regard to the other impropriety of the application, that Lord Verney is not known to your grace, it is undoubtedly a great misfortune to him, as well as to all others in the same circumstances, that he is not honoured with your acquaintance. But, as by this means your grace is a stranger to him, I take the liberty to state to you what he had done to entitle him to some sort of slight countenance in his election, (for I did not presume to ask for more,) from that party of which your grace is a capital ornament and principal

support. He has told in parliament, including himself, for four members; Mr. W. Burke, Mr. Bullock, and myself, are three of them, who, as well as Lord V., for the last nine years, have been diligent attenders, and have never given a vote against your interest. All these elections were carried without any sort of trouble to the party. He was likewise at an enormous expense to get a fifth member, and would have got him too, if justice had been done at the trial in the House of Commons; so that it is not through his want of exertion that you had not five. If his modesty has been such, that with his zealous attempts to do service he is not so much as known in the party, it is one of the natural effects of that unhappy virtue. With regard to my having taken upon me to do what Lord Verney did not risk himself, your grace will attribute my presumption to a cause as natural as the former, your extraordinary and unmerited indulgence,—a thing which makes us sometimes forget ourselves; and, perhaps in some degree, to a thorough consciousness that, on my part, I have been at all hours, and without any sort of reserve, at your grace's devotion; but this last is such a very trifle, and has been so much overpaid in acceptance, that it can hardly be reckoned among my excuses for the attempt.

I wish you may not be tired with the length of my apology, I am beyond measure fearful of



offending your grace, and I had rather, in these cases, be acquitted than pardoned.

It would give me very unfeigned concern, for the sake of the public, that your grace could seriously think or talk of being sick of politics. Let me say that you have tolerable corroborants for the stomach. It is not for want of bitters that it is so weak. But in serious earnest you have less reason for this despondency than most men. Your constitution of mind is such, that you must have a pursuit; and in that which you have chosen, you have obtained a very splendid reputation, which is no slight object to every generous spirit. You have exerted very great abilities in a very excellent cause, and with very noble associates. You have not disappointed your friends, nor have they disappointed you; and if, on casting up the account, you find your power in the state not equal to your services to the public, you have notwithstanding a high rank in your country, which kings cannot take from you, and a fortune fully equal to your station, though not (it would be hard to find one) to the personal dignity of your mind. My dear lord, the whole mass of this taken together, is not to be called unhappiness, nor ought it to drive you from the public service. Private life has sorrows of its own, for which public employment is not the worst of medicines, and you may have in other things as much vexa-

tion without the same splendour. Your birth will not suffer you to be private. It requires as much struggle and violence to put yourself into private life, as to put me into public. Pardon a slight comparison, but it is as hard to sink a cork, as to buoy up a lump of lead.

I heard a few days ago from poor Dowdeswell ; he is going abroad for his health. I heartily pray that he may find it. He is a man invaluable.

The paragraph with which you conclude your letter gives me great comfort, that I have not forfeited your favour and kindness. They have been hitherto no small part of my honour and satisfaction, and will always be so, while your grace takes me for what, with all my failings, I very truly am,

Your grace's most faithful and  
obedient servant,

EDM. BURKE.

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RICHARD BURKE, ESQ., TO JOSEPH BULLOCK, ESQ.

Broad Sanctuary, Westminster, Oct. 5, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

My brother was on the point of writing to you, when a sudden and important business made it unavoidably necessary for him to leave town on the instant. Indeed, nothing but the most

urgent necessity could have prevailed on him to commit to another the expression of his gratitude; no one can have such strong feelings, or so just a sense of the favours he has received, and the trust which has been so honourably reposed in him; and therefore the acknowledgments of any other person on his behalf, must be comparatively weak, and very inadequate to his sense of obligation. He has charged me to undertake this task, for which I am every way disqualified, except by the portion of gratitude I feel for every favour conferred on him. Do him, then, my dear sir, the favour and the justice to return his best, his warmest, and his most sincere thanks to the worthy inhabitants of Wendover, for the great honour and trust which they twice conferred on and reposed in him. You will make also his most warm acknowledgments of obligation and gratitude to the noble lord, to whose generous and disinterested friendship he stands, and shall for ever stand indebted, for his introduction to the notice and favour of the worthy inhabitants. To his lordship and the inhabitants, he has endeavoured to make the only return which was expected or would be received; a faithful discharge of the trust reposed in him, by a most diligent attendance in parliament, by some activity in, and

very pure and disinterested dispositions for, the service of his country; and by a real affection to the persons, and the best wishes for the welfare, of his constituents. He doubts not that you who were joined in the same trust with him, which you have discharged with so much fidelity to your constituents, and so much honour to yourself, will give your testimony to the small share of merit which he assumes. He has nothing further to request of you on this occasion, but that you would assure the electors of Wendover that it is with pain he declines offering himself a third time to their consideration, as a candidate to represent them, and that it is by the request and the irresistible persuasion of many and most respectable friends that he foregoes that honour. It is with great pleasure he finds that a very respectable gentleman offers his service in his place, who, he is persuaded, will discharge his duty with diligence and ability; it is only in zeal for the service of his country and the uprightness of his intentions, he presumes to say he cannot be exceeded. He intended to have taken his leave and paid his thanks in person, but the suddenness and urgency of the call upon him did not permit him even to write. You will, my dear sir, take care that he may not suffer in the opinions of his worthy friends, by



my inability to express fully his sentiments of gratitude and obligation,

I have the honour to be, dear sir,  
Your most obedient and humble servant,  
RICHARD BURKE.

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HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX TO EDMUND  
BURKE, ESQ.

Newmarket, October 13, 1774.

DEAR BURKE,

Though your opinions have turned out to be but too true, I am sure you will be far enough from triumphing in your foresight. What a dismal piece of news! and what a melancholy consideration for all thinking men, that no people, animated by what principle soever, can make a successful resistance to military discipline. I do not know that I was ever so affected with any public event, either in history or in life <sup>4</sup>. The introduction of great standing armies into Europe, has then made all mankind irrecoverably slaves. But to complain is useless, and I cannot bear to give the tories the triumph of seeing how dejected I am

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Fox probably refers to the proceedings of General Gage in the province of Massachusetts.

at heart <sup>5</sup>. Indeed, I am not altogether so much so about the particular business in question, which I think very far from being decided, as I am from the sad figure that *men* make against *soldiers*. I have written to Lord Rockingham, to desire him to lose no time in adopting some plan of operations in consequence of this event. I am clear a secession is now totally unadvisable; and that nothing but some very firm and vigorous step will be at all *becoming*; whether that or any thing else can be useful, I am sure I do not know. If the ministry were free agents, and had common sense, I think it not impossible but some good might be wrought even out of this evil; I mean, if they were to take this opportunity of making proper concessions. The Duke of Grafton does not despair of this, and, in that view, does not feel as I do about this news; but I believe he is very widely mistaken indeed; and every thing I hear from London supports my opinion; for I am told the exultation is excessive. If you

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Fox came into office with Lord North in 1770, as a senior lord of the admiralty, and remained in office till May, 1772. In January, 1773, he was appointed a lord of the treasury, which situation he held till March, 1774. He quitted office in 1772, on the occasion of the royal-marriage bill, which he opposed. In May, 1772, he moved for the repeal of the marriage-act, and obtained leave to bring in his bill, which was subsequently lost, upon the question for engrossing it.

should know, for certain, when Lord Rockingham comes to town, I should be obliged to you if you would let me know by a line directed hither.

Yours ever very affectionately,

C. J. Fox.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Doncaster, half-past nine, Sunday morning,  
6 October, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am thus far advanced in my way to Malton<sup>7</sup>; I left town on Friday night late, and got to Stevenage without any worse adventure, than that of having been robbed of about ten guineas, and my servant of a metal watch, on Finchley common, by two highwaymen. This was the first time that accident happened to me; and, all things considered, I came off tolerably.

Last night I lay at Tuxford, and came hither this morning. I shall, please God, arrive in good time this evening at Malton, where I hope, by your lordship's friendship, to be elected, and to make

<sup>6</sup> Probably October 9th.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Burke's return, as member for Malton, which he afterwards vacated for Bristol, has been mentioned in a former note.

them as good a member as I did to those at Wendover. By the way, I am extremely anxious about the fate of Lord Verney and that borough. It is past all description, past all conception,—the supineness, neglect, and blind security of my friend, in that, and every thing that concerns him. He suspects nothing, he fears nothing, he takes no precautions; he imagines all mankind to be his friends. As to any rational means of disposing of it, he will neither give nor sell it. He will be cheated, if he is not robbed. But I pass this disagreeable topic, which is the more so, as in case his borough is taken by surprise, it will probably encourage some one to set up for the county. One that loses a single point, by which he loses credit for conduct, loses all; or at least is in no slight danger.

Poor Will. is at Haslemere. Yesterday was the day of election; I know nothing of the event<sup>s</sup>. He looked upon the majority as sure, so as to be almost certain on the petition. The return is as sure against him. Adair has no doubt of the right of voters; I think so too, if the facts on which the right stands be truly stated.

I have heard not a syllable about Sir Charles

<sup>s</sup> Mr. William Burke did not succeed at the election, but petitioned; the sitting members were, however, declared duly elected.



Saunders, and am not wholly without anxiety for him. Lord Percy stands for Westminster, and so does Lord Thomas Clinton. They do not avowedly join, but they do in effect. I wish I could know how your lordship stands this *fracas*; your last letter was not comfortable. I shall hear from Mr. Fenton this evening. On my return I shall thank your lordship at Wentworth, and my Lady Rockingham, to whom I beg my most dutiful compliments.

I am ever, my dear lord,  
Your lordship's obedient and obliged  
humble servant,  
EDM. BURKE.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO MRS. FRENCH.

Bristol, November 2, 1774.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I seldom write to you, or my brother French; I am a bad correspondent at the best; but believe me, you are neither of you out of my mind, or estranged from my affections. If it were in my power to contribute any thing to your ease, advantage, or satisfaction, I would most cheerfully do it. But the part I have acted, and must continue

to act, whilst things continue as they are, makes me a very insignificant person. The only recompense I have is, that I sometimes receive some marks of public approbation. I know it will give you both pleasure to hear that, after having been elected for Malton in Yorkshire, several respectable people of this city invited me to stand a candidate here, and that I am elected by a majority of 251, after one of the longest and warmest contests that has been remembered. The party that has lost the election threatens a petition, but I am satisfied they have no solid grounds to proceed upon. The election has lasted a month. I was put in nomination several days before I came hither. My absence gave the other party great advantages. My brother, who was in London when the messengers from this city arrived at my house there, came to Bristol, and prevented our affairs from suffering so much as otherwise they would have done, by my absence; for I was then 220 miles from London, and 270 at least from Bristol. This event has given us all great satisfaction, and will give, I trust, a great deal to you. This is the second city in the kingdom; and to be invited and chosen for it, without any request of mine, at no expense to myself, but with much charge and trouble to every public-spirited gentleman, is an honour to which we ought not to be insensible.

Your sister <sup>9</sup> was well when I heard from her. Since I left London, thieves broke into our house in town, but they were discovered before they could take away any thing valuable; and Mrs. Burke, who is used to receive expresses at all hours of the night, hearing an alarm in the house, thought it an express from Bristol, and therefore was much less frightened than otherwise she would have been. The robbers made their escape.

Your nephew Richard has returned from France, and is now at the university of Oxford. Your brother joins me in the most affectionate regards to you, to my brother, and your little one. Adieu, my dear sister, and believe me your affectionate brother,

EDM. BURKE.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ. TO MRS. BURKE.

November 8, 1774.

MY DEAREST JANE,

My worthy friend Mr. Buller has just arrived, charmed with your ladyship, pleased with William, in raptures with Sir Joshua Reynolds. I write from Mr. Noble's (of the corporation), who is one

<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Edmund Burke.

of our very best friends, and this day gave us a very handsome dinner, to which the committee and their ladies were invited. Two enemies, I think very willing to be reconciled, were invited also. I begin to breathe, though my visits are not half over. However, I dispatch them at a great rate. Two days more will, I think, carry me through most of them. The visits will then be over. The dinners would never end. But we close the poll of engagements next Saturday. That day Richard gives us a dinner at the Bush Tavern, to our committee, but to none else. Little Popham will call on you in town very shortly. He leaves this to-morrow. He has been friendly and serviceable here beyond expression, at much trouble, and at no small expense to himself. He gave us a grand entertainment; by us, I mean the two committees, Cruger's and mine; and invited the sheriffs and several other gentlemen.

Now, my dearest Jane, I entertain some glimpse of hope that I shall see you shortly. I am sure I long for it. Sunday morning, with the blessing of God, we go to Bath. That day and the next, or a great part, we spend there. Tuesday we move to Oxford. Richard desires it much; and it is not above fifteen miles out of the way. There you may meet us. But if that cannot be done conveniently, why you will be for certain at Beconsfield, where I do really long to have a



quiet day or two. Adieu, my dear Jane; my dearest William, adieu. Embrace my father, Jack and Mrs. Nugent, Joe Hickey, our Knight, and every other friend that wishes us well. God send Haslemere may end as it ought. Adieu, adieu!

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO RICHARD CHAMPION, ESQ.<sup>10</sup>

Beaconsfield, November 19, 1774.

MY DEAR CHAMPION,

I arrived here at dinner time yesterday, after having passed that morning and the preceding afternoon very pleasantly with my son at Oxford. You sent me to him a much happier person in myself, and of much more importance in the eyes of every one else, than he saw me at parting from London. I drank a glass of wine with him and some of his young friends, and I need not tell you in whose health I wished him to interest himself with the greatest concern. Mrs. Burke knew not a little of what you had done for me; but still there was something left to tell her, and to console her abundantly for the cold I have brought

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Champion was a considerable merchant of Bristol, the warm supporter of Mr. Burke, and for many years his constant and confidential correspondent upon all subjects connected with that city, and of any interest to Mr. Burke.

home with me. Don't think, however, that there is any thing serious in this cold. It will not hinder me from being in town early next week, nor from prosecuting there every part of your business in downright earnest. I suppose that we shall soon see Mr. Simmonds armed with all the documents which he can procure at Bristol<sup>11</sup>. I am full of hope, and we shall all of us be full of vigour. It would be inexcusable indeed, if, after your astonishing exertions at Bristol, we should suffer any thing to be lost in London by our remissness.

I expect to have the satisfaction of hearing from you very soon. You will naturally let me know in what state the minds of the people appear to be since my departure, and whether our interest gains or loses ground upon the whole. I shall be perfectly contented if I find that there has been nothing in my own particular conduct and behaviour, while I continued amongst you, that counteracted the kind endeavours of my friends in my favour.

<sup>11</sup> These documents probably related to a bill, which Mr. Burke introduced at the desire of the merchants of Bristol, and managed to carry through parliament before the Christmas recess, for relieving the trade in Indian corn from some restrictions which impeded its exercise and extension. Mr. Burke received the thanks of the Bristol people for his exertions on the occasion.

Present me cordially to Mrs. Champion. Her worth, sense, and goodness of heart, make her deserving of what she has, the best husband in the world. May your two sisters, hers and yours I mean, meet the like. Remember me likewise to that fine young man, your worthy relative; I have never seen any of a more interesting manner and behaviour. Mrs. Burke gives her most affectionate compliments, and heartily wishes to be domestic among you. I really parted from you as from friends of long standing, but you have well filled a small measure of time. Adieu, my dear friend. Richard salutes you with the truest affection, and believe me ever most sincerely and heartily,

Your faithful, affectionate, and obliged  
humble servant,  
EDM. BURKE.

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EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

Beaconsfield, December 5, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

I think you will have the goodness to excuse this intrusion into the leisure of your recess. The season for action is drawing pretty near; if action should be the idea entertained, upon consultation

among your lordship's friends. If it be not thought proper at this time, I confess I cannot foresee a time that will be proper for it. For these two last sessions, indeed for the three last, the public seemed to be so perfectly careless and supine, with regard to its most essential interests, that much exertion on our part, would rather have indicated a restlessness of spirit than a manly zeal. I concurred entirely in the reasonableness of our remaining quiet, and taking no further part in business, than what served to mark our dissent from the measures which have been unfortunately in fashion. It was all that we could then do. Even at this time, I do not see all that spirit against ministry, which I should have expected to rise among the people on the disappointment of every hope that had been held out to them. However, it seems to be rising, and perhaps nearly as much and as fast, as a spirit wholly unmanaged can rise. Whatever progress it may make by its own nature, we know, by abundant experience, that unless it is tempered, directed, and kept up, it never can operate to any purpose. If care be not taken of this, the present set may make an advantage, even of the mischiefs and confusion they have caused by their own blundering conduct. For, if no other persons, and no other regular system, are held out to the people at large, as objects of their confidence in time of distress, they must of necessity resort



to the ministry. By neglecting to show ourselves at this crisis, we may play into the adversary's hand the advantageous game which we have obtained, by the uniformity of our conduct, and the superiority of our general plan of politics.

If your lordship should see things in this light, you will of course perceive, too, the necessity of proceeding regularly, and with your whole force; and that this great affair of America is to be taken up as a business. I remember that when your lordship collected your strength upon some capital objects, such as the *nullum tempus* bill, and that for elections, your way was to choose out six or seven friends, and to get each of them to secure the attendance of those whom they touched the most nearly. Perhaps you will think that something of this kind ought to be done, in the present instance. To act with any sort of effect, the principal of your friends ought to be called to town a full week before the meeting. Lord John<sup>1</sup> ought not to be suffered to plead any sort of excuse. He ought to be allowed a certain decent and reasonable portion of fox-hunting to put him into wind for the parliamentary race he is to run; but any thing more is intolerable. I really do not wish that his place of *locum tenens* may be long; but whilst our affairs continue as they do, from poor Dowdeswell's unhappy state of health, he must

<sup>1</sup> Lord John Cavendish.

show a degree of regular attendance on business, without which nothing that we can do will be either effectual or reputable; and it is not only ministry that will prevail over us, but we shall be a prey to the detached bodies, and even detached individuals that compose our most heterogeneous, unsystematic, and self-destructive opposition. His grace of Richmond ought surely to be as early in town as any; but he will not, if your lordship does not press it strongly. Other lords attending early, will have a good effect. A great deal of the temper of the people without doors, will depend upon the figure you make in the two Houses.

One cannot help feeling for the unhappy situation in which we stand from our own divisions. Lord Chatham shows a disposition to come near you, but with those reserves which he never fails to have as long as he thinks that the closet door stands ajar to receive him. The least peep into that closet intoxicates him, and will to the end of his life. However, as he is, and must be, looked to, by those that are within and those that are without, it would not be amiss to find out how he proposes to act, and if possible to fall in with him; and to take the same line in parliament, though you may never come to an understanding with him in other politics. This I am sure of, that as long as you make no approaches *to* him, but show yourself always approachable *by* him, you stand in

the fairest way to gain his esteem, and to secure yourself against his manœuvres.

With regard to the ministry, it would be of the greatest service if we could have some timely knowledge of the proposition, or at least of the spirit of the proposition, which they intend to make at the meeting. It would conduce greatly to our acting with some regularity, if we knew who the ministry were. It is always of use to know the ground one acts upon. I have great reason to suspect that Jenkinson<sup>2</sup> governs every thing; but it would be right to know this a little more clearly. All this your lordship sees is on a supposition of an active campaign. If otherwise, the thing is not worth the trouble. I see I have been long, and, I begin to fear, tedious and troublesome. I will not add to the impropriety by long apologies. Your lordship will be so good to present the best compliments of myself and all here to my Lady Rockingham, and to believe me ever,

My dear lord,

Your lordship's most faithful and affectionate  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

I forgot to mention that Sir George Savile's

<sup>2</sup> Charles Jenkinson, afterwards created Earl of Liverpool, at this time a joint vice-treasurer of Ireland.

early appearance will be very necessary. But he will not come unless your lordship writes.

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GENERAL LEE<sup>3</sup> TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

Annapolis, December 16, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

As any apology I could make, for having so long delayed answering your friendly and obliging letter, would be extremely lame and defective, I shall not attempt any; but only assure you that the continuation of your correspondence (though I so little deserve it) will give me the greatest pleasure; and if I could obtain your good opinion and friendship, I should think it the greatest honour. You are by this time as well acquainted with the public proceedings and

<sup>3</sup> General Charles Lee, an American by birth, holding a commission in the British service. This he afterwards resigned, and was appointed major-general in the American army in 1775. He served with it for some time, but having been brought to a court-martial by General Washington, for disobedience of orders in 1778, and being found guilty and sentenced to be suspended from all military command for twelve months, he left the army in disgust, and died in Philadelphia four years afterwards.

This letter is probably in reply to that of Burke to Lee, given by Prior in the first volume of his *Life of Burke*, p. 257.



resolves of this continent as myself. I shall therefore not trouble you with them, but some account of their dispositions in general may not be unwelcome to you; and, on this subject, I deserve some credit; for, in my last letter, I predicted what they would do, and things have fallen out according to my predictions. I will now, therefore, venture to predict, that unless the Boston bills (and I may add the Quebec) are repealed, the empire of Great Britain is no more. I have now run through almost the whole colonies, from the north to the south. I have conversed with every order of men, from the first estated gentleman to the poorest planters, and cannot express my astonishment at the unanimous, ardent spirit reigning through the whole. They are determined to sacrifice every thing, their property, their wives, children, and blood, rather than cede a tittle of what they conceive to be their rights. The tyranny exercised over Boston, indeed, seems to be resented by the other colonies in a greater degree than by the Bostonians themselves. I cannot help being persuaded that those men, who first urged the ministry to this accursed fatal step, have, from a wicked shame of acknowledging their misrepresentations, continued still to keep them in the dark. They first assured them of the practicability of the scheme, that the Bostonians would, on the first appearance of an army and fleet, be

frightened into a submission; that their cause would not be considered as the common cause; and now, when they see their error, they cannot muster up honesty or courage to confess it. This I am confident is the case with Hutchinson and his associates; and there is the strongest appearance that my quondam friend, Gage, holds the same dangerous course. It is somewhat strange, but it is true, that this gentleman should reside so many years in America, and yet be as ignorant of the dispositions of the people of America as he is of those in the moon; indeed, he took all possible means of shutting up the avenues of truth. At New York he never conversed, as I can find, with any but place and contract-hunters, the staff officers, and his own family; and when he was sent to Boston with express orders to inform himself of the cause of the disturbances, he applied himself to the very men, and those only, from whom these disturbances were said to flow. He shut himself up immediately in Castle-William, with Barnard, Hutchinson, and Sewel; under their inspection, and according to their dictates, after three days' labour, he put the finishing hand to a narrative of the state of the province, by which the ministry were to regulate their conduct. It was dispatched to England, and has produced most delightful fruits. Had he condescended to listen to the representations of the town at large, these

pernicious measures had, perhaps, never been adopted. In fact, every circumstance relating to New England, as it appears to me, has been stated quite the reverse of the truth. Not only the principles and deportment of the people, but their qualifications and capacity for war have been misrepresented. Modesty, temperance, and the most inflexible firmness, are united in them. I may judge of the former from my own eyes and senses; and for the latter, I have the greatest reason to be convinced from the best authority. I was very well acquainted at Boston with a physician of exceeding good sense and the greatest candour. He assured me that the last act of almost every father of a family whom he had attended, was to convene his sons about his death-bed, and charge them on his blessing, never to desert the common cause of their country, whatever distress they might encounter; and as these people are most truly religious, and remarkable for their filial piety, there can be no doubt but that the injunctions of their dying parents must add a considerable quantity of fuel to the fire of enthusiasm already lighted up in their breasts by the hand of tyranny. But what I think is a sufficient proof of the spirit and principles of these people, is the offer which they made to the congress, to abandon their town, and never set foot within their native walls, but with the re-establishment of their liberties. Such in-

stances of virtue and magnanimity are, I know, scarcely credible in your rotten island. It is too bright a strain for their enervated eyes to gaze at. As to their capacity for war, the want of attention to certain circumstances has led the regular officers who served in America into a very great mistake on this head. Their troops were ill-constituted; economy they had none. They neither knew how to cook their provisions, nor keep themselves clean. They were, consequently, much subject to camp disorders; and in their sickness, (the same care not being taken of them as of the regulars,) they were apt to be dispirited. They were only enlisted for six months; were, therefore, always new to the service; whereas the regulars, being kept always on foot, grew more knowing and economical every day. I say, without attending to these circumstances, and without reflecting how much worse themselves would have been in the same circumstances, the regulars attributed to a difference of materials in their men what, in fact, ought to have been attributed solely to ignorance of method, and boldly asserted the people of New England to be unfit for war. They shut their eyes to all the evidences of the reverse; to their promptness to action, their superiority in marching, and address in the use of all military instruments; but, above all, their ardour and zeal for the service. There is one more circumstance which we



gentlemen in red never chose to remember, viz. —that in a'1 our defeats and disgraces, particularly in those upon the Ohio, the provincials never led the flight, but were the last to leave the field. But be these things as they will, if I have any judgment, the people of New England are, at this day, more calculated to form irresistible conquering armies, than any people on the face of the globe. Even the appearance of their individuals<sup>4</sup> is totally changed since I first knew them. Formerly they had a slouching, slovenly air. Now, every peasant has his hair smartly dressed, is erect and soldier-like in his air and gait. This change struck me very much in passing through the provinces of Massachusetts and Connecticut. It must be attributed to the military spirit which they breathe, and their companies of cadets formed in all the towns of any considerable size. I have been present at the reviews of several of these companies, and was amazed at the exactness and rapidity of their manœuvres. I shall say nothing of the formidable numbers of light infantry (undoubtedly the best in the world) which their back provinces can produce. In short, sir, it is my persuasion, that should the people of England be infatuated enough to suffer their mis-rulers to proceed in their measures, this country may scorch

<sup>4</sup> That is, persons.

her fingers, but they themselves will perish in the flames. This small province of Maryland has already resolved to train and discipline about six thousand men; inclosed I send you the resolves of their convention. Pennsylvania is going to arm; I am not yet informed of their numbers, but they will be very great. I have still hopes that the people at home will open their eyes before it is too late, and not suffer the resentment of a hellish junto to weigh down eternal justice, the interest and honour of the nation, if not its existence.

I shall now trouble you with a few words respecting myself. I find it inserted in a paragraph of an English paper, that a certain officer (meaning me) had been busy in dissuading the people of Boston from submitting to the acts. It is giving me great importance to suppose that I have influence sufficient to urge or restrain so vast a community, in affairs of the dearest moment. The same paragraph adds, that I had offered to put myself at their head; but I hope it will not be believed that I was capable of so much temerity and vanity. To think myself qualified for the most important charge that ever was committed to mortal man, is the last stage of presumption. Nor do I think the Americans would, or ought to confide in a man (let his qualifications be ever so great) who has no property amongst them. It is

true I most devoutly wish them success in the glorious struggle; that I have expressed my wishes both in writing and *viva voce*: but my errand to Boston was mere curiosity, to see a people in so singular circumstances; and I had likewise an ambition of being acquainted with some of their leading men;—with them only I associated during my stay at Boston. Our ingenious gentlemen in the camp, therefore, very naturally concluded my design was to put myself at their head. I suppose you must have heard of the Indian war, carried on by the governor of Virginia, at the instigation of two murderers on the frontier, and in spite of the declamations of the whole continent against the injustice of it. It was an impious, black piece of work,—worse, if possible, than the affair of St. Vincent's. I most heartily wish you joy, if it can give you any, of your election; at least it gives credit to your electors. I direct this letter to Sir Joshua Reynolds, as I cannot be certain where you live. Adieu, dear sir, live and prosper; and believe me to be most sincerely

Yours,

C. L.

EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF  
ROCKINGHAM.

December 20, 1774,  
Tuesday morning, 10 o'clock.

MY DEAR LORD,

I received your lordship's letter, and, as the merchants say, note the contents. Mr. Woolridge, one of the committee of the London petitioners, wished to speak with me this day at one o'clock. I shall suggest your lordship's idea to him; it is undoubtedly a right one. But I think the petition should be a little varied in the prayer, on account of our manner of proceeding. When I see Mr. Woolridge, I shall endeavour to persuade him, either to decline being heard at all upon the petition before us, or to present a petition, praying the House not to enter upon any proceeding with regard to America, until they are heard on their first petition <sup>5</sup>.

I passed rather a sleepless night, and could not help rolling over in my mind our conversation at Richmond House. I cannot help continuing,

<sup>5</sup> This was one of the many petitions to parliament for reconciliation with America, presented at the close of this and the beginning of the next year, which were stifled in their birth by the power of ministerial majorities, either preventing evidence being heard in support of the allegations they contained, or putting them aside under one pretence or another.



however, with the deference I owe, and most cheerfully pay, to your lordship's judgment, very strongly in opinion, that a plan of inaction under our present circumstances, is not at all in our power; and, indeed, not at all to be adopted, if it were. There are others in the world who will not be inactive because we are so, and will be the more active when they see us disposed to lie by. The question then is, whether your lordship chooses to lead, or to be led,—to lay down proper ground yourself, or stand, in an awkward and distressing situation, on the ground which will be prepared for you, and which you can neither remain upon or quit, without great inconvenience and discredit. If, then, things are in such a situation, as without all question they are, the only way to keep your lordship in the public eye, and to keep you advantageously in it, must be to resolve to take the lead yourself.

The strong part taken the first day of the session, and the unusual mode of protesting on the address, indicated a vigorous campaign. Indeed, nothing but a resolution to make it such, could have justified so early and so determined a step. To fall off immediately, and to do just nothing at all, seems very inconsistent with such a beginning.

To wait until there is more ripeness in the public discontents, is to let the ministry complete their measures, without putting in, on our part,

any thing like a caveat against it; or making any sort of resolution against the conduct which has led us into all these difficulties. The business will be done; it will be done on Monday at farthest. Then the cry will be, "All is over: we must reconcile our minds to it as well as we can." I confess I do not entirely enter into the idea of waiting until the public discontents grow riper. They never did, do, or will ripen, to any purpose, unless they are matured by proper means. To be useful, they must have their direction given to them; and hope must be held out somewhere; else the miseries of the manufacturers will be considered as the inevitable consequences of a natural decay of trade, and *will* be borne, as *such* a decay *must* be borne.

Forgive this detail. I am much afraid that your lordship's only two friends that speak in the House of Lords will be much discouraged, and in the House of Commons we shall moulder to nothing.

I am, my dear lord,  
Ever your lordship's faithful and obliged  
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.











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